# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXX. NO. 32. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1869. WHOLE NO. 1,538.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 39 Nassau Street, New York.

THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

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## *THE LABOR QUESTION.*

LETTER FROM IRA STEWARD.

CAMBRIDGE, Mass., Nov. 27th, 1869.

*To the Editor of the Standard:*

I have just listened to the reading of "Machinery" by Wendell Phillips, and hasten to respond a most grateful "Amen" to the idea of continuing the publication of THE STANDARD in the interest of the coming questions, nearly all of which when traced to their source will be found to consist mainly of the claims of Labor. The final success of the Fifteenth Amendment places the Wages classes where they can do *considerable* for themselves, if helped by those who are socially and pecuniarily outside or above them. Leaders of commanding influence in Labor Reform could be dispensed with, if it was as free from the companionship or patronage of demagogues, as was the Anti-Slavery cause previous to emancipation. We are distracted almost enough to stop our progress by the enormous number of mere adventurers who, pretending to espouse our cause, are committing as many follies in its magic name, as ever there were crimes committed in the name of Liberty.

They can generally be traced to the Democratic camp, and as they are good managers they get the ear of most workingmen, while their speeches are caught up by the opposition to prove the knavery or folly of Labor Reform.

It is their presence, together with our poverty and want of skill in reading character, which finds us so ready to raise the "Macedonian cry," "come over and help us," to the splendid management of THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. There are several journals claiming to represent Labor Reform, but not one of them occupies the same relative position to that cause, that THE STANDARD has so long maintained in Emancipation and Reconstruction. They seem to mistake violence for radicalism, and at every decisive turn are sure to move towards the Democratic party.

The Boston *American Workman*, the best Labor journal now published, conducted by men whose personal integrity is, I believe, considered above question, will be forced in all probability, by the leaders of the Labor party, to oppose the reelection of Henry Wilson to the United States Senate, notwithstanding his most extraordinary interest, and exertions, and success, too, in behalf of the Eight Hour system for National Labor shops. Of course the supposed leaders of the Labor party are really acting upon the counsel they receive from those who choose at present to stand back out of sight.

These silent partners care little or nothing for Eight Hours. They look upon it as well enough to help keep up the hate for Mr. Sumner, as he voted against it; and if Mr. Wilson had been as unwise, they would have used it upon him, with considerable effect. His voting right on that question, however, did not serve *their* purpose as well as the vote cast by Mr. Sumner. We, who are determined that Mr. Wilson shall go back because of that vote, may be forced to act with Republicans, and seem for the time-being less radical as Labor Reformers than those who vote with the new Labor party.

Rejoicing over the 14,000 votes thrown by Massachusetts Labor Reformers at the last State election, as an indication that there is power as well as justice in our cause, we cannot remember too carefully the fact that "forming a *third* party" meant Republicans voting the Democratic ticket; for in counting up the Workingmen or Labor candidates elected, we find there are very few Republicans. I never feel any confidence in one's ability to solve the problem of a harmonious relation of Labor to Society if they have not first learned to hate slavery in all of its forms, living or dying.

It was slavery that said to white workingmen "Abolition means a rush North of emancipated blacks, to take labor from your hands, and bread from your tables." It is the same political economy (!) which advises taxation of government bonds. The terms of a pro-slavery constitution they always respected, but the terms of an anti-slavery bond are to be repudiated, in the name of Labor Reform!

May we not hope that with the final adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment the well disciplined brains and conscience of THE STANDARD "Machinery" will right about face to its "new duties," and help us make the clever public understand that Senator Sprague, Gen. Carey, Horace Day and their paid satelites, are not the labor movement.

The words spoken by Wendell Phillips for labor have been of inestimable advantage in this respect alone; but we want Aaron M. Powell, Rev. John T. Sargent, Charles K. Whipple, Mr. and Mrs. Foster, Sallie Holley, Caroline F. Putnam, and dozens of others whose names are familiar in Anti-Slavery history. The commanding talent thus added would not only insure larger pecuniary contributions, but its more economical expenditure.

What Labor Reform means, what issue should be presented first, how much it divides with other questions urged, the methods to be chosen for its agitation, are points upon which intelligent people would expect to differ. Probably Woman's Suffrage comes next, with a large majority of THE STANDARD'S readers. From these I hope almost nothing at present. They will believe, until the experiment is tried, that it is possible to induce over-worked, underpaid and ignorant voters to say "yes" to a question which the present industrial system absolutely prevents a majority of them from examining. THE STANDARD'S attitude upon the question of Labor now is what may be called negative. It takes no responsibility, urges no positive measures, but looks on kindly, tells what is passing, and admits that the subject must be discussed. Its Boston correspondent is interested in preventing cruelty to animals, improved sanitary conditions, Temperance, Labor, and *other* questions. If Mr. Phillips' suggestion is adopted, all this must ultimately change and the "machinery" will be forced to take a position.

An old-fashioned howl from the *Tribune* and *Advertiser* will then herald the glory of its progress and courage. The corporate wealth of this country will not surrender to necessary Legislation, without reminding us that the "Martyr Age of America" has not passed. IRA STEWARD.

## *THE "LABOR PARTY."*

*To the Editor of the Boston Commonwealth:*

You had some doubts about our success in the working men's movement, and some other journals were contemptuously indifferent to it. Fifteen thousand votes and twenty-six members of the Legislature are, you must allow, a very satisfactory answer on our part. Indeed, what party ever did as well at their first trial? This much, surely, we may claim, that our question is now fairly and fully registered on the list of political issues.

I am not going to complain of you, or your brothers of the press; on the contrary, I allow you had very fair grounds for your doubts. Old men tell of labor movements, almost as strong as ours, sold to corrupt parties. This year there were far too many candidates taken in some places (Worcester County, for instance), from the Democratic party.

I have heard of working men's speeches, in the canvass, running over with most untrue, and, if true, unnecessary praise for the Democratic party. Some of our conventions have been noisy with mere abuse of capitalists—more have wasted days in discussing questions that we have, at least *now*, nothing to do with—discussions which seemed only coquetry with the Democrats. No one sees the defects more clearly than the common-sense workingmen themselves. But I assure you this party is not got up for the purpose of selling out to anybody. It has some elements in it which satisfy me that it never will sell out. I will not ask room now to mention them.

All I do wish to tell your readers is that there is one association in this city, connected with this labor party, which grows out of common-sense views, and has practicable objects. It is the "Eight Hour League," containing some of the best minds, men and women, in the party. Its view is, that the first need of the workingman is *leisure;* more time for his body and his soul; time to read, think, look about him, and lift himself nearer, in culture and intelligence, to the level of his brother man, the capitalist. He needs it in order to fit himself to understand and discuss his own question, and participate in that "coöperation" to which Stuart Mill points as the solution of our problem.

Hence we ask to have eight hours constitute a labor day. Then we claim evening schools, open libraries, public free lectures, etc. To press all this on public attention, in the interval of the fever-fits of political agitation, we have opened rooms at 14 Bromfield street. These we open every Friday evening for discussion and mutual consultation. We invite all interested in a practical agitation of this question to join us. Yours, for the cause, ELEANOR D. ROCKWOOD.

## *THE QUESTION OF CASTE.*

LECTURE BY HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

MR. PRESIDENT:—In asking you to consider the Question of Caste, I open a great subject of immediate practical interest. Happily, Slavery no longer exists to disturb the peace of our Republic; but it is not yet dead in other lands, while among us the impious pretension of this great wrong still survives against the African because he is black, and against the Chinese because he is yellow. Here is nothing less than a claim of hereditary power from color, and it assumes that human beings, cast in the same mould with ourselves, and in all respects *men*, having the same title of manhood that we have, may be shut out from Equal Rights on account of the skin. Such is the pretension plainly stated.

On other occasions it has been my duty to show how inconsistent is this pretension with our character as a Republic, and with the promises of our Fathers,—all of which I consider never out of order to say and to urge. But my present purpose is rather to show how inconsistent it is with that sublime truth, being a part of God's law for the government of the world, which teaches the Unity of the Human Family, and its final harmony on earth. In this law, which is both commandment and promise, I find duties and hopes; perpetual duties never to be postponed, and perpetual hopes never to be abandoned, so long as man is man.

Believing in this law, and profoundly convinced that by the blessing of God it will all be fulfilled on earth, it is easy to see how unreasonable is a claim of power founded on any unchangeable physical incident derived from birth. Because man is black,—because man is yellow, he is none the less man. Because man is white, he is none the more man. By this great title he is universal heir to all that man can claim. Because he is man, and not on account of color, he enters into possession of the promised dominion over the animal kingdom, —"over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth." But this equal copartnership without distinction of color symbolizes equal copartnership in all the Rights of Man.

### FAITH IN THE FUTURE.

As I enter upon this important theme, I confess an unwelcome impediment, partly from the prevailing prejudice of color, which has become with many what is sometimes called a second nature, and partly from the little faith among men in the future development of the race. The cry, "a white man's government," which is such an insult to human nature, has its influence in the work of degradation. Accustomed to this effrontery, people do not see its ineffable absurdity, which is made conspicuous if they simply consider the figure our fathers would have cut had they declared the equal rights of white men, and not the equal rights of all men. The great declaration was axiomatic and self-evident because universal; confined to a class it would have been neither. Hearkening to this disgusting cry, people close the soul to all those quickening voices, whether of prophet, poet or philosopher, by which we are encouraged to persevere, nor do they heed the best lessons of science.

I begin by declaring my unalterable faith in the future, which nothing can diminish or impair. Other things I may renounce, but this I cannot. Throughout a life of controversy and opposition, frequently in a small minority, sometimes almost alone, I have never for a moment doubted the final fulfillment of those great promises for Humanity, without which this world would be a continuing chaos. To me it was clear from the beginning, even in the early darkness, and then in the bloody mists of war, that Slavery must yield to well-directed efforts against it, and now it is equally clear that every kindred pretension must yield likewise, until all are in the full fruition of those equal rights, which are the crown of life on earth. Nor can this great triumph be restricted to our Republic. Wherever men are gathered into nations, wherever civilization extends her beneficent sway, there will it be manifest. Against this lofty truth the assaults of the adversary are no better than the arrows of barbarians vainly shot at the sun. Still it moves, and it will move until all rejoice in its beams. The "all-hail hereafter," in which the poet pictures personal success, is a feeble expression for that transcendent Future, where man shall be conqueror, not only over nations, but over himself, subduing pride of birth, prejudice of class, pretension of Caste.

### GOVERNMENT THE SCIENCE OF JUSTICE.

The assurances of the Future are strengthened when I look at government and see how its character is constantly improving as it comes within the sphere of knowledge. Men must know before they can act wisely, and this simple rule is applicable alike to individuals and communities. "Go, my son," said the Swedish Chancellor, "and see with what little wisdom the world is governed." Down to his day government was little more than an expedient, a device, a trick for the aggrandizement of a class, of a few, or it may be of one. Calling itself Commonwealth, it was so in name only. There were classes always, and egotism was the prevailing law. Machiavel, the much-quoted herald of modern politics, insisted that all governments, whether monarchical or republican, owed their origin or reformation to a single law-giver, like Minos, Lycurgus or Solon. If this were true in his day, it is not in ours. In the presence of an enlightened people, a single law-giver, or an aristocracy of law-givers, is impossible, while government becomes the rule of all for the good of all, —not the One Man Power so constant in history,— not the triumvirate sometimes occurring,—not an oligarchy, which is the rule of a few,—not an aristocracy, which is the rule of a class,—not any combination, howsoever accepted, sanctioning exclusions,—but the whole body of the people, without exclusion of any kind, or, in the great words of Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg, "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

Thus far government has been at best an Art, like alchemy or astrology, where ministers exercised a subtle power, or speculators tried imaginative experiments, seeking some philosopher's stone at the expense of the people. Though in many respects still an Art only, it is fast becoming a Science founded on principles and laws from which there can be no just departure. As a science, it is determined by knowledge, like any other science, aided by that universal handmaid, the philosophy of induction. From a succession of particulars the general rule is deduced, and this is as true of government as of chemistry or astronomy. Nor do I see reason to doubt that, in the evolution of events, the time is at hand when government will be subordinated to unquestionable truth, making diversity of opinion as impossible in this great science as it is now impossible in other sciences already mastered by man. Science accomplishes a part only of its beneficent work when it brings physical nature within its domain. That other nature found in man must be brought within the same domain. And is it true that man can look into the unfathomable Universe, there to measure suns and stars, that he can penetrate the uncounted ages of the earth's existence, reading everwhere the inscriptions upon its rocks, but that he cannot look into himself, or penetrate his own nature, to measure human capacities and read the inscriptions upon the human soul? I do not believe it. What is already accomplished in such large measure for the world of matter, will yet be accomplished for that other world of Humanity, and then it will appear, by a law as precise as any in chemistry or astronomy, that just government stands only on the consent of the governed, that all men must be equal before the law of man, as they are equal before the law of God, and that any discrimination founded on the accident of birth is inconsistent with that true science of government which is simply the science of justice on earth.

One of our teachers, who has shed much light on the science of government—I refer to Prof. Lieber, of New York—shows that the State is what he calls "a *jural* society," precisely as the church is a religious society and an insurance company a financial society. The term is felicitious as it is suggestive. Above the State rises the image of Justice, lofty, blind-fold, with balance in hand. There it stands in colossal form with constant lesson of Equal Rights for All, while under its inspiration government proceeds, according to laws which cannot be disobeyed with impunity, and Providence is behind to sustain the righteous hand. In proportion as men are wise, they recognize these laws and confess the exalted science.

"Know thyself" is the Heaven-descended injunction which ancient piety carved in gold on the altar at Delphi. The famous oracle is mute, but the divine injunction survives; nor is it alone. St. Augustine impresses it in his own eloquent way when he says, "Men admire the altitude of mountains, the great waves of sea, the highest fall of rivers, the circuit of ocean, and the wheeling of stars, and *neglect themselves, nor do they admire.*" Following the early mandate, thus seconded by the most persuasive of the Christian Fathers, man will consider his place in the universe and his relations to his brother man. Looking into his soul, he will there find the great irreversible Law of Right, which is the universal law for the nation as for himself, commanding to do unto others as we would have them do unto us, and under the safeguard of this universal law I now place the rights of all mankind. It is little that I can do, but, taking counsel of my desires, I am not without hope of contributing something to that just judgment which shall blast the effrontery of Caste as doubly offensive, not only to the idea of a Republic, but to human nature itself.

### CASTE.

Already you are prepared to condemn Caste, when you understand its real character. To this end, let me carry you to that ancient India, with its population of more than a hundred and eighty millions, where this artificial discrimination, born of impossible fable, was for ages the dominating institution of society, being in fact, what Slavery was in our Rebellion, the corner-stone of the whole structure.

The Portuguese were the first of European nations to form establishments in India, and, therefore, through them was the civilized world first acquainted with its peculiar institutions. But I know no monument of their presence there, and no contribution from them to our knowledge of the country so enduring as the word Caste, or in the Portuguese language, *casta*, by which they designated those rigid orders or ranks into which the people of India were divided. The term originally applied by them has been adopted in the other languages of Europe, where it signifies primarily the orders or ranks of India, but, by natural extension, any separate and fixed order of society in other countries. In the latter sense Caste is now constantly employed. With this historic explanation it is apparent that the word is too modern for our classical English literature, or for that most authentic record of our language, the Dictionary of Dr. Johnson, which first saw the light in 1755.

Though the word was unknown in earlier times, the hereditary discrimination it describes, entered into the political system of modern Europe, where people were distributed into classes, and the son succeeded to the condition of his father, whether of privilege or disability,—the son of a noble being a noble with great privileges,—the son of a mechanic being a mechanic, with great disabilities; and this inherited condition was applicable even to the special labor of the father; nor was there any business beyond its tyrannical control. According to Macaulay, "the tinkers formed an hereditary caste." The father of John Bunyan was a tinker, and the son inherited the position. The French Revolution did much to shake this irrational system, but in many part of Europe, down to this day, the son emancipates himself with difficulty from the class in which he is born. But just in proportion to the triumph of Equality does Caste disappear.

This institution is essentially barbarous, and, therefore, appears in barbarous ages, or in countries not yet relieved from the early incubus. It flourished side by side with the sculptured bulls and cuneiform characters of Assyria, side by side with pyramids and hieroglyphics of Egypt. It showed itself under the ambitious sway of Persia, and even in the much-praised Cecropian era of Attica. In all these countries Caste was organized, differing somewhat in divisions, but hereditary in character. And the same phenomenon arrested the attention of the conquering Spaniards in Peru. The system had two distinct elements; first, separation, with rank and privilege, or, their opposite, with degradation and disability; secondly, descent from father to son; so that it was perpetual separation from generation to generation.

### CASTE IN INDIA.

In Hindoostan this dreadful system, which, under the name of order, is the organization of disorder, has prolonged itself to our day, so as to be a living admonition to mankind. That we may shun the evil it entails, in whatever shape it comes, I shall now endeavor to expose its true character.

The regular Castes of India are four in number, called in Sanscrit *varras* or *colors*, although it does not appear that by nature they were of different colors. Their origin will be found in the sacred law-book of the Hindoos, the ordinances of Menu, where it is recorded that the Creator caused the Brahmin, the Cshatriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra, so named from *Scripture, protection, wealth* and *labor*, to proceed from his mouth, his arm, his thigh and his foot, appointing separate duties for each class. To the Brahmin, proceeding from the mouth, was allotted the duty of reading the Veda and of teaching it,—to the Cshatriya, proceeding from the arm, the duty of soldier,—to the Vaisya, proceeding from the thigh, the duty of cultivating the land and keeping herds of cattle, and to the Sudra, proceeding from the foot, was appointed the chief duty of serving the other classes without depreciating their worth. Such was the original assignment of parts; but, under the operation of natural laws, those already elevated increased their importance, while those already degraded sank lower. Ascent from an inferior class was absolutely impossible. As well might a vegetable become a man. The distinction was perpetuated by the injunction that each should marry only in his own class, with sanguinary penalties inflicted upon any attempted amalgamation.

The Brahmin was child of rank and privilege; the Sudra, child of degradation and disability. Omitting the two intermediate classes, soldiers and husbandmen, look for one moment at the two extremes, as described by the sacred volume.

The Brahmin is constantly hailed as first born, and, by right, chief of the whole creation. This eminence is declared in various terms. Thus it is said, "When a Brahmin springs to light, he is born above the world," and then again it is said, "Whatever exists in the universe is all in effect the wealth of the Brahmin." As he engrosses the favor of the Deity, so is he entitled to the veneration of mortals, and it is announced that, "whether learned or ignorant, he is a powerful divinity, even as fire is a powerful divinity, whether consecrated or common." Immunities of all kinds cluster about him. Not for the most insufferable crime can he be touched in person or property; nor can he be called to pay taxes, while all other classes must bestow their wealth upon him. Such is the Brahmin, with these privileges crytallized in his blood from generation to generation.

On the other hand, is the Sudra, who is the contrast in all particulars. As much as the Brahmin is an object of constant veneration, so is the Sudra an object of constant contempt. As one is exalted above Humanity, so is the other degraded below it. The life of the Sudra is servile, but according to the sacred volume, he was created by the Self-existent especially to serve the Brahmin. Everywhere his degradation is manifest. He can hold no property which a Brahmin cannot seize. The crime he commits is visited with the most condign punishment, beyond that allotted to the other classes subject to punishment. The least disrespect to a Brahmin is punished terribly. For presuming to sit on a Brahmin's carpet, the punishment is banishment; for contumelious words to a Brahmin it is an iron style, ten fingers long, thrust red-hot into the mouth, and for offering instruction to a Brahmin, it is nothing less than hot oil poured into mouth and ears. Such is the Sudra, and this fearful degradation, with all its disabilities, is crystallized in his blood from generation to generation.

Below these is another more degraded even than the Sudra, being the outcast, with no place in either of the four regular Castes, and known commonly as the Pariah. Here is another term imported into familiar usage to signify generally those on whom society has set its ban. No person of the regular Castes holds communication with the Pariah. His presence is contaminating. Milk, and even water, is defiled by his passing shadow and cannot be used until purified. The Brahmin sometimes puts him to death at sight. In the well-known language of our country, once applied to another people, he has no rights which a Brahmin is bound to respect.

### WRONG OF CASTE.

Such a system so shocking to the natural sense, has been denounced by all who have considered it, whether on the spot, or at a distance, unless I except the excellent historian Robertson, who seems to find apologies for it, as men among us find apologies for the Caste which sends its lengthening shadow across our Republic. I might take your time until late in the evening unfolding its obvious evil, as exposed by those who have witnessed its operation. This testimony is collected in a work entitled *Caste opposed to Christianity*, by Rev. Joseph Roberts, and published in London in 1847. I give brief specimens only. A Hindoo converted to Christianity exposes its demoralizing influence, when he says, "Caste is the stronghold of pride which makes a man think of himself more highly than he ought to think;" and so also another converted Hindoo, when he says, "Caste makes a man think that he is holier than another and that he has some inherent virtue which another has not;" and still another converted Hindoo, when he says, "Caste is part and parcel of idolatry and all heathen abomination." But no testimony surpasses that of the eminent Reginald Heber, the Bishop of Calcutta, when he declared that, "it is a system which tends, more than anything else the devil has yet invented, to destroy the feelings of general benevolence and to make nine-tenths of mankind the hopeless slaves of the remainder." Under these protests, and the growing influence of Christianity, the system is so far mitigated, that according to an able writer whose soul is enlisted against it, "the distinctions are felt on certain limited occasions only." These are the words of James Mill, interesting always as the author of the best work on India, and the father of John Stuart Mill. It is now admitted that under constraint of necessity the member of a superior Caste may descend to the pursuits of an inferior Caste. The lofty Brahmin engages in traffic, but he cannot touch "leather," for contact with this article of commerce is polluting. But I am obliged to add that no modification leaving "distinctions" transmissible with the blood can be adequate. So long as these continue, the natural harmonies of society are disturbed and man is degraded. The system in its mildest form can have nothing but evil, for it is a constant violation of primal truth, and a constant obstruction to that progress which is the appointed destiny of man.

### CASTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Change now the scene,—from ancient India, and the shadow of unknown centuries, to our Republic, born of yesterday. How unlike in venerable Antiquity! How like in the pretension of Caste! Here the Caste claiming hereditary rank and privilege is white; the Caste doomed to hereditary degradation and disability is black or yellow, and it is gravely asserted that this difference of color marks difference of race, which in itself justifies the discrimination. To save this enormity of claim from indignant reprobation, it is insisted that the varieties of men do not proceed from a common stock, —that they are different in origin,—that this difference is perpetuated in their respective capacities, and the apology concludes with the practical assumption, that the white man is a superior Caste not unlike the Brahmin, while the black man is an inferior Caste not unlike the Sudra, sometimes even the Pariah; nor is the yellow man exempted from this same insulting proscription. When I consider how for a long time the African was shut out from testifying in court, even when seeking redress for the grossest outrage, and how at this time in some places the Chinese is also shut out from testifying in court, each seems to have been little better than the Pariah. In stating this assumption of superiority, which I do not exaggerate, I open a question of surpassing interest, whether in science, government or religion.

Here I must not forget that some, who admit the common origin of all men, insist that the African is descended from Ham, son of Noah, through Canaan, cursed by Noah to be servant of his brethren; and that, therefore, he may be degraded even to slavery. But this apology is not original with us. Nobles in Poland seized upon it to justify their lordly pretensions, calling their serfs, though white, descendants of Ham. But whether employed by Pole or American, it is worthy only of derision. I do not know that this apology is invoked for maltreating the Chinese, although he is descended from Ham as much as the Pole.

### UNITY OF THE HUMAN FAMILY.

Two passages of Scripture, one in the Old Testament and the other in the New, both governing this question, attest the Unity of the Human Family. The first is in that sublime chapter of Genesis, where, amidst the wonders of Creation, it is said: "So God created man in his own image; in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. And God blessed them; and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it." The other passage is from that great sermon of St. Paul, when, standing in the midst of Mars Hill, he proclaimed to the men of Athens, and through them to all mankind, that God "hath made of *one blood* all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." (Acts, xvii. 26). If, as is sometimes argued, there be ambiguity in the account of the Creation, or if in any way its authority has been impaired by scientific criticism, there is nothing of the kind to detract from the sermon of St. Paul, which must continue forevermore venerable and beautiful.

### TESTIMONY OF SCIENCE.

Appealing from these texts, the apologists hurry to science, and there I follow. But I must compress into paragraphs what might fill volumes.

Ethnology, to which we repair, is a science of recent origin, exhibiting the different races or varieties of man in their relations with each other, as that other science, anthropology, exhibits man in his relation to the animal world. Nature and history are our authorities, but all science and all knowledge are tributary. Perhaps no other theme is grander; for it is the very beginning of human history, in which all nations and men have a common interest. Its vastness is increased when we consider that it embraces properly not only the origin, distribution and capacity of man, but his destiny on earth,—stretching into the infinite past,—stretching also into the infinite future, and thus spanning Humanity.

The subject is entirely modern. Hippocrates, one of our ancient masters, has left a treatise on "air, water and place," where climatic influences are recognized, but nobody in antiquity studied the varieties of our race, or regarded its origin except mythically. The discovery of America, and the later circumnavigation of the globe, followed by the development of the sciences generally, prepared the way for this new science.

### QUESTION OF VARIETIES IN THE HUMAN FAMILY.

It is obvious to the most superficial observer that there are divisions or varieties in the Human Family, commonly called races, but the most careful explorations of science leave the number uncertain. These differences are in color and in skull,—also in language. Of these the most obvious is color; but here, again, the varieties multiply in proportion as we consider transitional or immediate hues. Two great teachers in the last century, Linnæus,—of whom it was said "God made, Linnæus classified," *Deus fecit, Linnæus disposuit*,—and Kant, a sincere and penetrating seeker of truth, were content with four,—white, copper, olive, and black; corresponding geographically to European, American, Asiatic and African. Buffon, in his elegant portraiture, recognizes five, with geographical designations. He was followed by Blumenbach, who also recognizes five, with the names which have become so famous since: Caucasian, Mongolian, Ethiopian, American, and Malay. Here first appears the popular but deceptive term Caucasian, for nobody supposes now that the white cradle was on Caucasus, which is best known to English-speaking people by the verse of Shakspeare making it anything but Eden:

O, who can hold a fire in his hand,
By thinking of the frosty Caucasus?

Blumenbach was an able an honest inquirer, and if his nomenclature is defective it is only another illustration of the adage that nothing is at the same time invented and perfected.

If I mention other attempts, it is only to show how science hesitates before this great problem. Cuvier reduces the Family to three, with branches or sub-divisions, and lends his great authority to the term Caucasian, which he adopts from Blumenbach. The German Lesson began with three, according to color, white, yellow and black, but afterwards recognized six—white, bistre, orange, yellow, red, black—represented respectively by European, Hindoo, Malay, Mongolian, American and Negro, African and Asiatic. Desmoulins makes twelve. Bory de St. Vincent adds to Desmoulins. Broc adds to St. Vincent. The London *Ethnological Journal* makes no less than sixty-three, of which twenty-eight varieties are intellectual, and thirty-five physical; and then we are told that thirty varieties of Caucasian alone are recognized on the monuments of ancient Egypt, as they appear in the magnificent works of Rossellini and Lepsius. Our own countryman, Pickering, whose experience was gained on the exploring expedition of Capt. Wilkes, in his work on the "Races of men and their Geographical Distribution," enumerates eleven varieties of man, according to color, divided into four groups—white, brown, blackish-brown, and black. In his opinion, there is no middle ground between the admission of eleven distinct species in the Human Family, and the reduction to one.

The German anatomist, Camper, distinguishes the human family by the facial angle, ranging from one hundred degrees, as in the head of Apollo, perpetuated by Greek art, down to forty-two degrees in the skull of an ape. This attempt was continued by Virey, who divides man into two species, the first with a facial angle of 85° to 90°, including Caucasian, Mongolian and copper-colored American, and the second with a facial angle of 75° to 82°, including dark-brown Malay, blackest Hottentot and Papuan, and the Negro. Prichard, whose voluminous works constitute an ethnological mine, finds, chiefly from the skull, seven varieties, which he calls (1) Iranian, from Iran, the primeval seat in Persia of the Arian race, embracing the Caucasian of Blumenbach with some Asiatic and African nations; (2) Turanian or Mongolian; (3) American, including Esquimaux; (4) Hottentot and Bushman; (5) Negro; (6) Papuan, or wooly-haired Polynesian; (7) Australian. The same industrious observer finds three principal varieties in the conformation of the head, corresponding respectively to savage, nomadic and civilized man. In the savage African and Australian the jaw is prolonged forward, constituting what he calls by an expressive term, prognathous. In the nomadic Mongolian the skull is pyramidal and the face broad. In civilized man the skull is oval and elliptical. But the naturalist records that there are forms of transition as nations approach to civilization or relapse to barbarism.

Thus does the human skull refuse any definitive answer. There are varieties of skull, as of color; but the question remains to what extent they attest original diversity. Equally vain is the attempt to obtain a guide in the form of the human pelvis. But every such attempt and its failure has its lesson.

There remains one other criterion—I mean language; and here the testimony is such as to disturb all divisions founded on color or skull; for it is ascertained that people differing in these respects speak languages having a common origin. The ancient Sanskrit, sometimes called the most elaborate of human dialects' has yielded its secret to philological research, and now stands forth the mother tongue of the European nations. It is difficult to measure the importance of this revelation; for while not decisive on the main question, it increases our difficulty in accepting any postulate of original diversity.

### UNITY OF ORIGIN.

And now the question arises, how are these varieties to be regarded in the light of science? Are they aboriginal and from the beginning? Or are they superinduced by secondary causes of which the record is lost in the extended night preceding our historic day? Here the authorities are divided. On the one side, we are reminded that within the period of recognized chronology no perceptable change has occurred in any of these varieties,—that on the earliest monuments of Egypt the African is pictured precisely as we see him now, even to that servitude from which among us he is happily released,—and it is insisted that no known influences of climate or place are sufficient to explain such transformations from an aboriginal type, while plural types are in conformity with the analogies of the animal and vegetable world. On the other side, we are reminded that, whatever may be the difficulties from supposing a common centre of creation, there are greater still in supposing plural centres,—that it is easier to understand one creation than many,—that geographical science makes us acquainted with intermediate gradations of color and conformation in which the great contrasts disappear,—than, even within the last half century and in Europe, people have tended to lose their national physiognomy and run into a common type, thus attesting subjection to transforming influences,—that, after accepting the races already described there are other varieties, national, family and individual, not less difficult of explanation, and it is insisted that whatever these varieties, be they few or many, there is among them all an *overruling Unity*, by which they are constituted one and the same cosmopolitan species, endowed with speech, reason, conscience and the hope of immortality, knitting all together in a common Humanity, and amidst all seeming differences making all as near to each other as they are far apart from every other created thing, while to every one is given that great first instrument of civilization, the human hand, by which the earth is tilled, cities built, history written and the stars measured;—and this unquestionable Unity is pronounced all-sufficient evidence of a common origin.

In considering this great question, do all inquirers sufficiently recognize the element of time? Obviously the sphere of operation is enlarged in proportion to the time employed. Everything is possible with time. Confining ourselves to recognized chronology, existing varieties cannot be reconciled with that unity found in a common origin. What are the 6,000 years of Hebrew time,—what are the 22,000 years of human annals sanctioned by the learning and piety of Bunsen, for the consummation of these transformations? And this longest period, how brief for the completion of those two marvellous languages, Sanskrit and

Greek, which at the earliest dawn of authentic history were already so perfect! Considering the infinitudes of astronomy and those other infinitudes of geology, it is not unreasonable to claim an antiquity for primeval man compared with which all the years of authentic history are a span. With such incalculable opportunity, amidst unknown changes of nature, where heat and cold strove for mastery, no transformation consistent with the preservation of the characteristic species, was impossible. Egypt is not alone in its Sphinx, perplexing mortals with perpetual enigma. Science is our Sphinx and its enigma is Man and his varieties on earth. To which I answer, "Time."

Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that at the creation conditions were stamped upon man, making transformations natural. Because unnatural according to observation during the brief period of historic time, it does not follow that they are not strictly according to law. The famous calculating machine of Charles Babbage, the eminent mathematician, as described in his remarkable Bridgewater Treatise, where science vindicates anew the ways of Providence to man, supplies an illustration, which is not without instruction. This machine, with a power almost miraculous, was so adjusted as to produce a series of natural numbers in regular order from unity to a number expressed by one hundred millions and one—100,000,001,—when another series was commenced, regulated by a different law, which continued until at a certain number the series was again changed, and all these changes in the immense progression proceeded from a propulsion at the beginning. Any simple observer, finding that the series stretched onwards through successive millions, would have no hesitation in concluding from the vast induction, that it must proceed always according to the same law; and yet it was not so. But the calculating machine is only a contrivance of human skill. And cannot the Creator do as much? That is a very inadequate conception of the Almighty Power creating the universe and placing man in it, which supposes, according to the language of Sir John Herschel, the eminent astronomer, that "His combinations are exhausted in any of the theatres of their former exercise." Thus far we know not the law of the series which governed primeval man. Who can say that after lapse of time, changes did not occur, always in obedience to conditions stamped upon him at the creation?

A simpler illustration carries us to the same result. A cog-wheel, so common in machinery, operates ordinarily by the cogs on its rim; but the wheel may be so constructed that after a certain series of rotations another set of cogs is presented inducing a different motion. All can see how, in conformity with pre-existing law, a change may occur in the operations of the machine. But it was not less easy for the Creator to fix his law at the beginning, according to which the evolutions of this world proceed. And thus are we brought back to the conclusion so often announced, that unity of origin must not be set aside simply because existing varieties of man cannot be sufficiently explained by known laws, operating during that brief period which we call history.

In considering this great question there are authorities which cannot be disregarded. Count them or weigh them, it is the same. I adduce a few only, beginning with Latham, the ethnologist, who insists,—

"(1). That, as matter of fact, the languages of the earth's surface are referable to one common origin; (2). that, as matter of logic, this common origin of language is *prima facie* evidence of a common origin for those who speak it."—*Encyclopædia Britannica, article Ethnology.*

The great French geographer and circumnavigator, Dumont d'Urville, testifies thus:—

"I do not see upon the surface of the globe but three races truly distinct,—the white, more or less carnation, —the yellow, more or less bronzed or coppered, and the black. I share the opinion which refers these three races to one same primitive stock, and which places its cradle on the central table land of Asia."—*Histoire du Voyage, Tome II., p.* 614 and 627.

Buffon, the brilliant naturalist, whose work is one of the French classics, thus records his judgment:—

"All concurs to prove that the human race is not composed of species entirely different among themselves, that on the contrary, there was originally but one species of men, who, in multiplying and spreading over all the surface of the globe, experienced different changes by the influence of climate, by the difference of food, by the manner of living, by hereditary maladies and by the intermixture of individuals varied to infinity.—*Histoire Naturelle, Tome III., p.* 530.

UNQUESTIONABLE UNITY OF HUMAN FAMILY.

Another authority, avoiding the question of origin, has given a summary full of instruction and beauty. I refer to Alexander von Humboldt, the life-long companion of every science to whom all science was revealed, who studied Man in both hemispheres, and ever afterward throughout his long and glorious career continued the pursuit. Adopting the words of the great German anatomist, Johannes Muller, that "the different races of mankind are forms of one sole species by the union of two of which descendants are propagated," and criticising the popular classification of Blumenbach and Prichard as wanting "typical sharpness" or "well-established principle," the author of Cosmos insists, "that the distribution of mankind is only a distribution into *varieties*, which are commonly designated by the somewhat indefinite term races,' and then announces the grand conclusion:—

"While we maintain the Unity of the human species, we at the same time repel the depressing assumption of superior and inferior races of man. There are nations more susceptible of cultivation, more highly civilized, more ennobled by mental cultivation, than others, *but none in themselves nobler than others.*" [Cosmos, Vol. I., p. 358.

Such is the testimony of Science by one of its greatest masters. Rarely have better words been uttered. Nor should it be said longer that science is silent. Humboldt has spoken. And what he said is much in little—most simple, but most comprehensive—for, while asserting the Unity of the Human Family, he repels that disheartening pretension of Caste, which I insist shall find no place in our political system. Through him science is enlisted for the Equal Rights of All.

Whatever the judgment on the unity of origin, where, from the nature of the case, there can be no final human testimony, it is a source of infinite consolation, that we can anchor to that other Unity, found in a common organization, a common nature, and a common destiny, being at once physical, moral and prophetic. This is the true Unity of the Human Family. In all essentials constituting Humanity, in all that makes Man, all varieties of the human species are one and the same. There is no real difference between them. The variance, whether of complexion, configuration or language, is external and superficial only, like the dress we wear. Here all knowledge and every science concur. Anatomy, physiology, psychology, history, the equal promises to all men, testify. Look at Man on the dissecting table, and he is always the same, no matter in what color he is clad—same limbs, same bones, same proportions, same structure, same upright stature. Look at Man in the world, and you will find him in nature always the same—modified only by the civilization about him. There is no human being, black or yellow, who may not apply to himself the language of Shakspeare's Jew: "Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?—fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer as a Christian is? If you prick us do we not bleed? If you tickle us do we not laugh? If you poison us do we not die?" Look at Man, in his destiny here or hereafter, so far as it can be penetrated by mortal vision, and who will venture to claim for any variety or class exclusive prerogatives on earth or in heaven? Where is this preposterous pretender? God has given to all the same longevity, marking a common morality, the same cosmopolitan character, marking citizenship everywhere, and the same capacity for improvement, marking that tendency sometimes called the perfectibility of the race, and he has given to all alike the same promise of immortal life. By these tokens is man known everywhere to be man, and by these tokens is he everywhere entitled to the Rights of Man.

THE DOG.

There is a lesson in the dog, is there not? Who does not admire that fidelity which makes this animal the ally and friend of man, following him over the whole earth, in every climate, under all influences of sky, cosmopolitan as himself,—in prosperity and adversity always true, and then by beautiful fable, transported to another world, where the association of life is prolonged to man while "his faithful dog shall bear him company?" The dog of Ulysses dying for joy at his master's return when all Ithaca had forgotten the long-absent lord, is not the only instance. But who has heard that this wonderful instinct makes any discrimination of manhood? It is to man that the dog is faithful; nor does it matter of what condition, whether the child of wealth or the rough shepherd tending his flocks; nor does it matter of what complexion, whether Caucasian white, or Ethiopian black or Mongolian yellow. It is enough that the master is Man; and thus, even through the instincts of a brute, does Nature testify to that Unity of the Human Family, by virtue of which all are alike in rights.

A COMMON HUMANITY FORBIDS CASTE.

Experts in Ethnology are earnest to recognize this other Unity on which I now insist. Our own Agassiz, who is the most illustrious of the masters not accepting the unity of origin, is careful to add that "the moral question of Brotherhood among men" is not affected by this dissent, and he announces that "Unity is not only compatible with diversity of origin, but that it is the universal law of Nature." (*Types of Mankind*, lxxv). This other Unity found an eloquent representative in William von Humboldt, not less eminent as philologist than his brother as naturalist, who proclaims our Common Humanity to be the dominant idea of history, more and more extending its empire, "striving to remove barriers which prejudice and limited views of every period have erected among men, and to treat all mankind, without reference to religion, nation or color, as one Fraternity, one great community;" and he concludes by announcing "the recognition of the bond of Humanity as one of the noblest leading principles in the history of mankind." And these grand words are adopted by Alexander von Humboldt, so that the philologist and the naturalist unite in this cause. (*Cosmos*, Vol. I. p. 359). Thus in every direction do we find new testimony against the pretension of Caste. We are told that "a little learning is a dangerous thing." If this be ever true, it cannot be better illustrated than by that sciolism, which from the human species would overthrow that sublime Unity which is the first law of creation. As well overthrow creation itself. There is no great intelligence which does not witness to this law. Bacon, Newton, Leibnitz, Descartes all testify. Laplace, from the heights of his knowledge, teaches that the curve described by a simple particle of air or vapor is regulated by a law as certain as the orbits of the planets; and is not man the equal subject of certain law? God rejoices in Unity. It is with Him a universal law, applicable to all above and below, from the sun in the heavens to the soul of man. Not one law for one group of stars, and one law for one group of men; but one law for all stars, and one law for all men. It was the saying of Plato, that "God geometrizes," which is only another expression for the certainty and universality of this law. Aristotle follows Plato, when, borrowing an illustration from the well-known requirements of the Greek drama, he announces, that "in this unity nothing is unconnected or out of place as in a bad tragedy." But Caste is unconnected and out of place. It is a perpetual discord; a prolonged jar; contrary to the first principle of the universe.

Only when we consider the universality of the moral law can we fully appreciate the grandeur of this unity. The great philosopher of Germany, Kant, declared that there were two things filling him always with admiration —the starry heavens above and the moral law within. Well might the two be joined together, for in that moral law, with a home in every bosom, is a vastness and beauty commensurate with the universe. Every human being carries a universe in himself; but here, as in that other universe, is the same prevailing law of Unity, in harmony with which the starry heavens move in their spheres, and men are constrained to the duties of life. The stars must obey; so must men. This obedience brings the whole Human Family into harmony with each other, and also with the Creator. And here, again, we behold the grandeur of the system, while new harmonies unfold. Religion takes up the lesson, and the daily prayer, "Our Father who art in Heaven," is the daily witness to the Brotherhood of Man. God is the universal Father; then we are all brothers. If not children of Adam, we are all children of God,—if not all from the same father on earth, we are all from the same Father in Heaven, and this affecting relationship, which knows no distinction of race or color, is more vital and ennobling than any monopoly. Here, once more, is that universal law which forbids Caste, speaking not only with the voice of science but of religion also, praying, pleading, protesting, in the name of a common Father, against such wrong and insult to our brother man. In beautiful harmony are those words of promise; "I will make a *Man* more precious than fine gold—even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir." Against this lofty recognition of a common humanity, how mean the pretensions of Caste.

COMMON DESTINY.

Assuming this common humanity, it is difficult to see how reason can resist the conclusion, that in the lapse of time, there must be a common universal civilization which every nation and people will share. None too low, none too inaccessible for its kindred embrace. Amidst the differences which now exist, and in the contemplation of nations and peoples infinitely various in condition, with the barbarian still claiming an extensive empire, with the savage still claiming a whole continent and islands of the sea, I cannot doubt the certain triumph of this great law. Believing in God, I believe also in man, through whose God-given all this will be accomplished. Was he not told at the beginning, with the blessing of God upon him, "*Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it!*" All of which I am sure will be done. Why this common humanity—why this common brotherhood, if the inheritance is for Brahmins only? Why the injunction to multiply and subdue the earth, if there are to be Sudras and Pariahs always? Why this sublime law of Unity holding the universe in its grasp, if man alone is left beyond its reach?

I have already founded the Unity of the Human Family partly on the common destiny, and I now insist that this common destiny is attested by the unquestionable Unity of the Human Family. They are parts of one system, complements of each other. Why this unity, if there be no common destiny? How this common destiny, if there be no unity? Assuming the unity, then is the common destiny a necessary consequence, under the law appointed for man.

The skeptic is disturbed, because thus far in our brief chronology this common civilization has not been developed; but to my mind it is plain, that much has been done, making the rest certain through the same incessant influences under the great law of Human Progress.

That European civilization, which has already pushed its conquests in every quarter of the globe, is a lesson to mankind. Beginning with small communities, it has proceeded stage by stage, extending to larger, until it embraced nations and distant places,—and now stamps itself ineffaceably upon increasing multitudes making them under God pioneers in the grand march of Humanity.

ORIGINAL DEGRADATION OF ENGLAND.

Europe had her dark ages, when there was a night with "darkness visible," and there was an earlier period in the history of each nation when man was not less savage than now in the very heart of Africa; but the European has emerged and at last stands in a world of light. Take any of the nations whose development belongs to modern times, and the original degradation can be exhibited in authentic colors. There is England, whose present civilization is in many respects so finished; but when the conquering Cæsar, only fifty-five years before the birth of Christ, landed on this unknown island, her people were painted savages, with a cruel religion and a conjugal system which was an incestuous concubinage. His authentic report places this condition beyond question, and thus knowing her original degradation and her present transformation after eighteen centuries, we have the terms for a question in the Rule of Three. Given original degradation and present transformation of England, how long will it take for the degradation of other lands to experience a similar transformation? Add also present agencies of civilization to which England was for centuries a stranger.

This instance is so important as to justify details. When Britain was revealed to the commercial enterprise of Tyre, her people, according to Macaulay, were "little superior to the natives of the Sandwich Islands." The historian must mean when those Islands were first discovered by Capt. Cook. Prichard, our best authority, supposes them "nearly on a level with the New Zealanders or Tahitians, or perhaps not very superior to the Australians," which is very low indeed. There was but little change, if any, when they became known to the Romans. They are pictured as large and tall, excelling the Gauls, in stature and strength, with heavy features and clumsy figures, and, according to the geographer Strabo, "they did not stand firm on their legs." Northward were the Picts and Scots, also Britons, tattooing their bodies, dwelling in tents, savage in manners, and with a moral degradation kindred to that of the Southern Britons. Across the Channel were the Irish, whose reported condition was even more terrible. According to Cæsar, most in the interior of Britain never sowed corn, but lived on milk and flesh, and were clad in untanned skins; but he notes that all colored their bodies with a cerulean pigment, "making them more horrid to the sight in battle," and he then relates that societies of ten or twelve, brothers and brothers, parents and children, had wives in common. Their religious observances were such as became this savage life. Here was the sanctuary of the Druids, whose absolute and peculiar power was sustained by inhuman rites. On rude but terrible altars, in the gloom of the forest, human victims were sacrificed, while from the blood, as it coursed under the knife of the priest, there was a divination of future events. There was no industry or production except slaves too illiterate for the Roman market. Imagination pictured strange things. One province was reported where the ground was covered with serpents and the air was such that no man could inhale it and live. In the polite circles of the empire, the whole region excited a fearful horror, which has been aptly likened to that of the early Ionians for the Straits of Scylla or the city of the Læstrygonian cannibals. The historian records with a sigh that no magnificent remains of Latian porches and aqueducts are to be found here—that no writer of British birth is reckoned among the masters of Latian poetry and eloquence.

And this was England at the beginning. Long afterwards, when centuries had intervened, the savage was improved into the barbarian. But from one authentic instance learn the rest. The trade in slaves was active, and English pedlers bought up children throughout the country, while the people, greedy of the price, sold their own relations, sometimes their own offspring. In similar barbarism, all Jews and their gains were the absolute property of the king; and this law, beginning with Edward the Confessor, was enforced under successive monarchs, one of them making a mortgage of all Jews to his brother as security for a debt. Nothing worse is now said of Africa.

Progress was slow. When in 1430 the Italian Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., visited this Island it was to his eyes most forlorn. Houses in cities were of stones without mortar. Cottages had no other door than a stiffened bull-hide. Food was coarse. Bread was such a rarity among the people as to be a curiosity. Women "giggled" at the sight of it. When afterwards, under Henry VIII., civilization had begun, the condition of the people was deplorable. There was no such thing among them as comfort, while plague and death-sweats prevailed. The learned and ingenious Erasmus, who was an honored guest in England at this time, refers much to the filthiness of the houses. The floors he describes as commonly of clay, strewn with rushes, sometimes remaining unmolested for twenty years, festering with spittle, vomit, uncleanness of dogs and men, and other ordure not to be named. I quote the words of this eminent observer. The traveller from the interior of Africa would hardly make a worse report.

Such was England. But this story of savagery and barbarism is not peculiar to this country. I might take other countries one by one and exhibit the original degradation and present elevation. I might take France. I content myself with one instance only. An authentic incident of French history recorded by a contemporary witness, and associated with famous names in the last century, shows the little recognition at that time of a common humanity. And this story concerns a lady, remarkable among her sex for various talent and especially as a mathematician, and the French translator of Newton, Madame du Chatelet. This great lady, the friend of Voltaire, found no difficulty in undressing before the men servants of her household, not considering it well-proved that such persons were of the human family. This curious revelation of manners, which arrested the attention of de Tocqueville in his remarkable studies on the origin of the French Revolution, (*Ancien Regime*, p. 196,) if reported from Africa, would be recognized as marking a most perverse barbarism.

THE LAW OF PROGRESS.

These are illustrations only, which might be multiplied and extended indefinitely, but they are sufficient. Here, within a limited sphere, obvious to all, is the operation of that law which governs universal man. Progress here prefigures progress everywhere; nay, progress here is the first stage in the world's progress. Nobody doubts the progress of England; nobody doubts the progress of France; nobody doubts the progress of the European Family wherever distributed, in all quarters of the globe. But must not the same law under which these have been elevated exert its equal influence on the whole Family of Man? Is it not with people as with individuals? Some arrive early, others tardily. Who has not observed that, independent of original endowment, the progress of the individual depends upon the influences about him? Surrounded by opportunity and trained with care, he grows into the type of civilized man; but, on the contrary, shut out from opportunity and neglected by the world, he remains stationary, always a man, entitled from his manhood to Equal Rights, but an example of inferiority, if not of degradation. Unquestionably it is the same with a people. Here, again, opportunity and a training hand are needed.

To the inquiry, how is this destiny to be accomplished, I answer, simply by recognizing the law of Unity and acting accordingly. The law is plain; obey it. Let each people obey the law at home; its extension abroad will follow. The standard at home will become the standard everywhere. The harmony at home will become the harmony of mankind. Drive Caste from this Republic and it will be like Cain, a fugitive and a vagabond in the earth.

AFRICA AND THE AFRICAN.

Therefore do I now plead for our Common Humanity in all lands. Especially do I plead for the African, not only among us, but in his own vast, mysterious home, where for unknown centuries he has been the prey of the spoiler. He may be barbarous, perhaps savage; but so have others been who are now in the full enjoyment of civilization. If you are above him in any respect, then by your superiority are you bound to be his helper. Where much is given much is required; and this is the law for a nation, as for an individual.

The unhappy condition of Africa, a stranger to civilization, is often invoked against a common Humanity. Here again is that sciolism, which is the inseparable ally of every ignoble pretension. It is easy to explain this condition without yielding to a theory inconsistent with God's Providence. The key is found in her geographical character, affording few facilities for intercommunication abroad or at home. Ocean and river are the natural allies of civilization, as England will attest, for such was their early influence that Cæsar on landing remarked the superior condition of the people on the coast. Europe, indented by seas on the south and north, and penetrated by considerable rivers, will attest also. The great geographer, Carl Ritter, who has placed the whole globe in the illumination of geographical science, shows that the relation of interior spaces to the extent of coast has a measurable influence on civilization; and here is the secret of Africa. While all Asia is five times as large as Europe, and Africa more than three times as large, the littoral margins have a different proportion. Asia has seven thousand seven hundred miles of coast; Europe four thousand three hundred, and Africa only three thousand five hundred. For every thirty-seven square miles of the European continent there is one mile of coast, while in Africa one mile of coast responds to one hundred and fifty square miles of continent. The relative extension of coast in Europe is more than four times greater than in Africa. Asia is in the middle, between the two extremes, having for every one hundred and five square miles one mile of coast; and so also is Asia between the two in civilization. There is still another difference with corresponding advantage to Europe. One-third part of Europe is in the nature of ramification from the mass, furnishing additional opportunities; whereas Africa is a solid, impenetrable continent, without ramifications, without opening gulfs or navigable rivers, except the Nile, which once witnessed the famous Egyptian civilization. And now in addition to all these opportunities by water, Europe has others not less important from a reticulation of railways, bringing all parts together, while Africa is without these new-born civilizers. All these things are apparent and beyond question; nor can their influence be doubted. And thus is the condition of Africa explained without an insult to her people or any new apology for Caste.

The attempt to disparage the African as inferior to other men, except in present condition, shows that same ever-present sciolism. Does Humboldt repel the assumption of superiority and beautifully insist that no people are "in themselves nobler than others?" Then all are men,—all are brothers,—of the same Human Family, with superficial and transitional differences only. Plainly, no differences can make one color superior to another. And looking carefully at the African, in the seclusion and isolation of his native home, we see sufficient reason for that condition which is the chief argument against him. It is doubtful if any people has become civilized without extraneous help. Britain was savage when Roman civilization intervened; so was Gaul. Cadmus brought letters to Greece, and what is the story of Prometheus, who stole fire from Heaven, but an illustration of this law? The African has not stolen fire; no Cadmus has brought letters to him; no Roman civilization has been extended over his continent. Meanwhile left to savage life, he has been a perpetual victim, hunted down at home to feed the bloody maw of slavery, and then transported to another hemisphere, always a slave. In such condition nature has had small opportunity for development. No kindly influences have surrounded his home,—no voice of encouragement has cheered his path,—no prospect of trust or honor has awakened his ambition. His life has been a Dead Sea, where apples of Sodom floated. And yet his story is not without passages which quicken admiration and give assurance for the Future, at times melting to tenderness and at times inspiring to rage, that these children of God, with so much of His best gifts, should be so wronged by their brother man.

The ancient poet tells us that there were heroes before Agamemnon,—that is, before the poet came to praise. Who knows the heroes of those vast unvisited recesses, where there is no history and only short-lived tradition? But among those transported to this hemisphere, heroes have not been wanting. Nowhere in history was the heroical character more conspicuous than in our fugitive slaves. Their story, transferred to Greece or Rome, would be a much-admired chapter, from which youth would derive new passion for liberty. The story of the African in our late war would be another chapter awakening kindred emotion. But it is in a slave of the West Indies, whose parents were stolen from Africa, that we find an example of genius and wisdom, courage and character, with all the elements of general and ruler. The name borne by this remarkable person as slave was Toussaint, but his success in forcing an "opening" everywhere, secured for him the addition of l'Ouverture, making his name Toussaint l'Ouverture, Toussaint *the Opener*, by which he takes his place in history. He was opener for his people, whom he advanced from Slavery to Freedom, and then sank under the power of Napoleon, who sent an army and fleet to subdue him. More than Agamemnon or any chief before Troy,—more than Spartacus, the renowned leader of the servile insurrection which made Rome tremble,—he was a hero, endowed with a higher nature and better faculties; but he was an African, jet black in complexion. The height that he reached is the measure of his people. Call it high-water mark, if you will; but this is the true line for judgment, and not the low-water mark of Slavery, which is always adopted by the apologists for Caste. Toussaint l'Ouverture is the actual standard by which the African must be judged.

When studied where he is chiefly seen,—not in the affairs of government, but in daily life,—the African awakens attachment and respect. The will of Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State under President Tyler, describes a typical character. Here are the remarkable words:—

"I emancipate and set free my servant, David Rice, and direct my executors to give him *one hundred dollars*. I recommend him, in the strongest manner to the respect, esteem and confidence of any community in which he may happen to live. He has been my slave for twenty-four years, during all which time he has been trusted to every extent, and in every respect; my confidence in him has been unbounded; his relation to myself and family has always been such as to afford him daily opportunities to deceive and injure us, yet he has never been detected in any serious fault, nor even in an unintentional breach of the decorum of his station. His intelligence is of a high order, his integrity above all suspicion, and his sense of right and propriety correct and even refined. I feel that he is justly entitled to carry this certificate from me in the new relations which he must now form; it is due to his long and most faithful services, and to the sincere and steady friendship which I bear to him. In the uninterrupted confidential intercourse of twenty-four years, I have never given him, nor had occasion to give him, one unpleasant word. I know no man who has fewer faults or more excellences than he."

The man thus portrayed was an African, whose only school was slavery. Here again is the standard of this people. The apologist for Caste will be astonished to know, but it is none the less true, that the capacity of the African in scholorship and science, is better attested than that of anybody claiming to be his master. What modern slave-master has taught the Latin like Juan Latino at Seville, in Spain—written it like Capitein at the Hague, or Williams at Jamaica—gained academic honors like those accorded to Amo by the University of Wittenberg? What modern slave-master has equalled in science Banneker of Maryland, who, in his admirable letter to Jefferson, avows himself "of the African race, and in that color which is natural to them, of the deepest dye?" These instances are all from the admirable work of the good Bishop Grégoire, *De la Littérature des Nègres.* Recent experience attests the singular aptitude of the African for knowledge, and his delight in its acquisition. Nor is there any doubt of his delight in doing good. The beneficent system of Sunday Schools in New York is traced to an African woman, who first attempted this work and her school was for all alike, without distinction of color. To the unquestionable capacity of the African must be added simplicity, amenity, good nature, generosity, fidelity. Mahomedans, who know him well, recognize his superior fidelity. And such also is the report of travellers not besotted by slavery, from Mungo Park to Livingstone, who testify also to tenderness for parents, respect for the aged, hospitality, and patriarchal virtues reviving the traditions of primitive life. "Strike me, but curse not my mother," said an African slave to his master. And Leo Africanus, the early traveller, describes a chief at Timbuctoo, "very black in complexion but most fair in mind and disposition." Others dwell on his Christian character, and especially his susceptibility to those influences which are peculiarly Christian, —so that St. Bernard could say of him, *Felix Nigredo, quos mentis candore imbuta est.* Of all people he is the mildest and most sympathetic. Hate is a plant of difficult growth in his bosom. How often has he returned the harshness of his master with care and protection. The African, more than the European, is formed by nature for the Christian graces.

It is easy to picture another age, when the virtues which ennoble the African will return to bless the people who now discredit him, and Christianity will receive a new development. In the providence of God the more precocious and harder nature of the North is called to make the first advance. Civilization begins through knowledge. An active intelligence performs the part of opening the way. But it may be according to the same Providence, that the gentler people, elevated in knowledge, will teach their teachers what knowledge alone cannot impart and the African shall more than repay all that he receives. The pioneer intelligence of Europe going to blend with the gentleness of Africa will be a blessed sight; but not more blessed than the gentleness of Africa returning to blend with that same intelligence at home. Under such combined influences men will not only know and do, but they will feel also, so that knowledge in all its departments, and life in all its activities, will have the triumphant inspiration of Human Brotherhood.

AGENCIES OF CIVILIZATION.

In this work there is no room for prejudice, timidity or despair. Reason, courage, and hope are our allies, while the bountiful agencies of civilization open the way. Time and space, ancient tyrants keeping people apart, are now overcome. There is nothing of aspiration for universal man which is not within the reach of well-directed effort —no matter in what unknown recess of continent, no matter on what distant island of the sea. Wherever man exists, there are the capacities of manhood, with that greatest of all, the capacity for improvement; and the civilization we have reached supplies the means.

As in determining the function of government, so here again is the necessity of knowledge. Man must know himself, and that law of unity appointed for the Human Family. Such is the true light for our steps. Here is guidance and safety. Who can measure the value of knowledge? What imagination can grasp its infinite power? As well measure the sun in his glory. The friendly lamp in our streets is more than the police. Light in the world is more than armies or navies. Where its rays penetrate there has civilization begun. Not the earth but the sun is the centre of our system, and the noon-day effulgence in which we live and move, symbolizes that other effulgence which is found in knowledge.

Great powers are at hand, ministers of human progress. I name two only,—first the printing-press, and secondly the means of intercommunication, whether by navigation or railways, represented by the steam-engine. By these civilization is extended and secured. It is not only carried forward, but fixed so that there can be no return,—like the wheel of an Alpine railway which cannot fall back. Every rotation is a sure advance. Here is what Greece and Rome never knew, and more than Greece and Rome have contributed to man. By the side of these two simple agencies how small all that has come to us from these two politest nations of antiquity.

We can better spare Greece and Rome than the printing-press and steam-engine. Not a triumph in literature, art or jurisprudence, from the story of Homer and the odes of Horace to the statue of Apollo and the bust of Augustus, from the eloquence of Demosthenes and Cicero, to that Roman law, which has become the law of the world, that must not yield in value to these two immeasurable possessions. To the printing-press and steam-engine add now their youthful handmaid, the electric telegraph, whose swift and delicate fingers weave the thread by which nations are brought into instant communion, while great cities like London and Paris, New York and San Francisco become suburbs to each other, and all mankind feel together the throb of joy or sorrow. Through these incomparable agencies is knowledge made co-extensive with space and time on earth. No distance of place or epoch it will not pervade. Thus every achievement in thought or science, every discovery by which man is elevated, becomes the common property of the whole Human Family. There can be no monopoly. Sooner or later all enjoy the triumph. Standing on the shoulders of the past, man stands also on the shoulders of every science discovered, every art advanced, every truth declared. There is no height of culture or of virtue, if virtue itself be not the highest culture, which may not be reached. There is no excellence of government or society which may not be grasped. Where is the stopping place? Where the goal? One obstacle is overcome only to find another which is overcome, and then another overcome also, in the ascending scale of human improvement.

And then shall be fulfilled the great words of prophecy, which men have read so long, with hope darkened by despair; "for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea;" "it shall come that I will gather the nations and tongues, and they shall come and see my glory." The promises of Christianity, in harmony with the promises of science, and more beautiful still, will become the realities of earth, and that precious example where is the way of life, will be another noonday sun for guidance and safety.

CERTAIN TRIUMPH.

The question *how*, is followed by that other question, *when*. The answer is easy. Not at once; not by any sudden conquest; not in the life-time of any individual man; not in any way which does not recognize nature as co-worker. It is by constant, incessant, unceasing activity in conformity with law that nature works, and so in these world-subduing operations, man can be successful only in harmony with nature. Because in our brief pilgrimage we are not permitted to witness the transcendant glory, it is none the less certain. The peaceful conquest will proceed, and every day must contribute its fruits.

At the beginning of the last century, Russia was a barbarous country, shut out from opportunities of improvement. Authentic report attests its condition. Through contact with Europe it was inoculated. The life-giving *virus* circulated and this vast empire felt the change. Exposed to European contact at one point only, here the inoculation began; but the native energies of the people, under the guidance of a powerful ruler, responded to the influence, and Russia came within the widening circle of European civilization. Why may not this same experience be repeated elsewhere, while distant places are inoculated by the beneficent hand?

To help in this work it is not necessary to be emperor or king. Everybody can do something; for to everybody is given something to do, and it is by this accumulation of activities, by this succession of atoms, that the result is accomplished. I use trivial illustrations when I remind you that the coral-reef, on which navies are stranded, is the work of the multitudinous insect—that the unyielding stone is worn away by drops; but this is the law of nature, under which no influence is lost. Water and air both testify to the slightest movement. Not a ripple stirred by the passing breeze or by the freighted ship cleaving the sea, which is not prolonged to a thousand shores, leaving behind an endless progeny, so long as ocean endures. Not a wave of air set in motion by the human voice, which is not prolonged likewise into unknown space. But these watery and aerial pulses typify the acts of man. Not a thing done, not a word said, which does not help or hinder the grand, the beautiful, the holy consummation. And the influence is in proportion to the individual or nation from whom it proceeds. God forbid that our nation should send through all time that defiance of human nature which is found in Caste.

There are two passages of the New Testament which are to me of infinite significance. We read them often, perhaps, without comprehending their value. The first with regard to leaven, when the Saviour said, "the kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven," and then St. Paul, taking up the image, on two different occasions, repeats, "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump." In this homely illustration we see what is accomplished by a small influence. A little changes all. Here again are the acts of man typified. All that we do is leaven; all that our country does is leaven. Everybody in his sphere contributes leaven, and helps his country to contribute that mighty leaven which will leaven the whole mighty lump. The other passage—difficult to childhood, though afterwards recognized as a faithful record of human experience—is where we are told, "For whosoever hath to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance." Here to me is a new incentive to duty. Because the world inclines to those who have, therefore must we study to serve those who have not, that we may counteract the worldly tendency. Give to the poor and lowly,—give to the outcast,—give to those degraded by their fellow-man, that they may be elevated in the scale of Humanity,—assured that what we give is not only valuable in itself, but the beginning of other acquisitions,—that the knowledge we convey makes other knowledge easy,—that the right we recognize helps secure all the rights of man. Give to the African only his due,—and straightway the promised abundance will follow.

CONCLUSION.

In leaving this question, which I have opened to you so imperfectly, I am impressed anew with its grandeur. The best interests of our country and the best interests of mankind are involved in the answer. Let Caste prevail and civilization is thwarted. Let Caste be trampled out, and there will be a triumph which will make this Republic more than ever an example. The good influence will extend in prolonged pulsations, reaching the most distant shores. Not a land which will not feel the spread, just in proportion to its necessities. Above all, Africa will feel it, and the surpassing duty which civilization owes to this whole continent, where man has so long degraded his fellow-man, will begin to be discharged, while the voice of the Great Shepherd is heard among its people.

In the large interests beyond, I would not lose sight of the practical interests at home. It is important for our domestic peace, not to speak of our good name as a Republic, that this question should be settled. Long enough has its shadow rested upon us, and now it lowers from an opposite quarter. How often have I said in other places that nothing can be settled which is not right, and now I say that there can be no settlement here except in harmony with our declared principles and with universal truth. To this end Caste must be forbidden. "Haply for I am black," said Othello. "Haply for I am yellow," repeats the Chinese, all of which may be ground for personal like or dislike, but not for any denial of rights or any exclusion from that equal copartnership which is the promise of the Republic to all men.

Here, as always, the highest safety is in doing right. Justice is ever practical, ever politic; it is the best practice, the best policy. Whatever reason shows to be just cannot, when reduced to practice, produce other than good. And now I simply ask you to be just. To those who find peril in the growing multitudes admitted to citizenship, I reply that our republic assumed these responsibilities when it declared the equal rights of all men, and that just government stands only on the consent of the governed. Hospitality of citizenship is the law of its being. This is its great first principle; this is the talisman of its empire. Would you conquer nature, follow nature; and here, would you conquer physical diversities, follow that moral law, declared by our Fathers, which is the highest law of nature, and supreme above all men. Welcome, then, to the stranger, hurrying from opposite shores, across two great oceans, from the East, from the West, with the sun, against the sun. Here he cannot be a stanger. If the Chinese come for labor only, we have the advantage of their wonderful and docile industry. If they come for citizenship, then do they offer the pledge of incorporation in our Republic, filling it with increase. Nor is there peril in the gifts they bring. As all rivers are lost in the sea, which shows no sign of their presence, so will all peoples be lost in the widening confines of our Republic, with an ocean-bound continent for its unparalleled expanse and one harmonious citizenship, where all are equal in rights, for its gentle and impartial sway.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1869.


## CONGRESS.

WHAT do we want of Congress? We want *protection* for the Nation. The Executive abdicates. As with all Constitutional Governments power gravitates toward the Legislative branch. Hence we look specially to Congress for relief. How shall Congress afford it?

1st. Let no State return to its place unless it first ratifies the XVth Amendment. No matter how long Texas and Mississippi remain out, let them stay there until they recognize the normal policy of the Nation. Let Georgia remain in her present equivocal position, until she too consents to this measure. Do not repeat the grave mistake made in the case of Tennessee. The ballot in the hands of the negro in every State is a poor guarantee of permanence to the loyal Republican party: but it is the basis and indispensable prerequisite of every other.

2d. Let Congress, as soon as may be, adopt the principle of Mr. Julian's Land Bill. Save every acre of public land for the blacks. Most wisely Mr. Julian would divide among the blacks the public lands lying along the railroads and forfeited by the Railway Corporations. This would build up the railroads. It would plant the blacks in villages, thus enabling a community to defend itself. Villages make public free schools a possibility. In fact this policy transplants to the South the New England village, the nucleus and seed of all our Institutions. A group of such villages would soon control the Congressional district in which it lay. As Cobden undermined the *bread tyranny* of England by buying up forty shilling freeholds, so we shall undermine the landed rebeldom of the South by introducing into those political Districts compact communities of loyal landholders; if possible near a railroad, which gives them independent means of buying and selling, and keeps them in close communication with the North and the world of ideas.

We look on the land policy of Mr. Julian as one of the most important of all the measures before Congress, second only to the XVth Amendment: if indeed it ought not rather to be considered a portion of that great measure.

3d. We would have Congress distinctly declare the Nation's right and duty to secure Education, in free public schools for all its citizens; and further, that if any State neglected this great duty, that the Nation would claim the right to undertake it. It should scrutinize carefully and see if anywhere, in this respect, the provisions of the XIVth Amendment are violated, and allow no such discrimination to be made between races, or classes, as would endanger or cripple a school system or prevent its producing all its best results. The education of all classes and conditions of children *together* is one of the most valuable elements of our School System and makes it the root of our Republican Institutions. If you separate sects, races, or classes and educate them, (so far as books can do it) just as well as on the old system, you lose one of the finest influences of the plan. We have not time now to lay open fully the important bearing of this matter, but any thoughtful man can perceive its grave weight. The declaration of purpose and scrutiny into State practice, we would ask now, in order to lay the foundation for an Amendment of the Constitution enlarging the powers of Congress if necessary. In view of coming trials, the Common School system, *such as we have had* it hitherto in New England, is the great hope for the future.

4th. We would have Congress take all possible and necessary steps to curb the treason of the Supreme Court. Through Mr. Lincoln's weakness, as we repeatedly pointed out years ago, that Bench was filled with men not at all baptized in the spirit of our Era. Motives of local importance and personal friendship led him to put on that Bench very unfit and second rate men. His final appointment, Mr. Chase, judicious as it seemed at the time, has turned out most unfortunate. Not even the place which MARSHALL made illustrious could fill the insatiate maw of Chase's vulgar office-greed, we will not dignify it with the noble name of ambition. Should the rebel Democratic party succeed to power in 1873, the rottenness of the

of strength between the opposing ideas. Meanwhile we are allowing our foe to fortify himself behind all the great elements of civil and social strength. The administration sleeps. A little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep—so shall defeat come as one that traveleth and ruin like an armed man.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

## *EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.*

WASHINGTON, December 7th, 1869.

NATIONAL LABOR CONVENTION.

YESTERDAY at noon the second truly national representative Convention of the colored people of this country met in this city, at Union League Hall. The Convention will continue in session several days. There are delegates present from nearly all the States and Territories. They are mostly colored men, though there are several women, colored and white, and several white men. The convention of last year was chiefly political, seeking such an amendment of the Constitution as would secure equal political rights, irrespective of race or color. This convention was called, as our readers are aware, for the promotion of the industrial interests, more especially of the colored working people. The Call however invited also an attendance of such white delegates as, having "conquered their prejudices," felt inclined to come. Though in the general terms of the call men only were specified, the committee on credentials with praiseworthy unanimity, gave the liberal interpretation to the word "men" and accepted, without question, the authenticated credentials of women. But one delegate, we believe, spoke in the convention in opposition to their admission,—a Virginia preacher,—and his objections, greeted with laughter and hisses, were promptly voted down. He is thus far, the only delegate who has been hissed! We mention this as an indication of the liberal feeling prevalent in the Convention in regard to the rights of women, and as illustrative of the injustice of the invidious and persistent misrepresentation of colored men, for political reasons, by some advocates of woman's rights among white women. The Southern delegates include several colored members of Legislatures, and some of them are men of real ability. Their earnestness of purpose is admirable, and they are being rapidly developed in a noble manhood by the responsibility which rests upon them, and the critical conditions by which they are surrounded at home.

GEORGE T. DOWNING Esq., was chosen temporary chairman and delivered an able introductory address. Prayer was offered by the Rev. J. Sella Martin. The usual committees on credentials and and permanent organization were appointed, and during their absence several persons addressed the Convention by invitation, among whom were the Hon. JAMES H. HARRIS, of North Carolina, JOHN MERCER LANGSTON Esq., of Ohio, Mr. RICHARD TRAVELLICK, the President of the National Labor Congress, and A. M. POWELL. The Hon. JAMES H. HARRIS, of North Carolina was elected President of the Convention with a Vice-President from each State and Territory represented, and several secretaries, among whom is Mr. LEWIS H. DOUGLASS, a son of FREDERICK DOUGLASS Esq., whom the Printer's Union (white) of this city have sought in vain (thanks to the Hon. A. M. CLAPP,) to drive from the Government Printing-office here. Mr. HARRIS, on taking the chair, delivered an eloquent address, such as few among the white traducers of the colored people, have the ability to make. After some routine business the Convention adjourned, to meet in the evening in the Fifteenth street Presbyterian Church (the REV. J. SELLA MARTIN'S), a more commodious and comfortable place of meeting than Union League Hall.

Among the resolutions presented this afternoon was the following, which was most warmly received, and referred for future consideration:

*Resolved*, That we ask Congress to authorise at once the appointment by the President of a Land Commission, to be composed of six or more well-known, disinterested friends of the freed people, to serve without compensation, to have authority to appoint, with the approval of the Secretary of the Treasury, a limited number of Agents, whose duty it shall be to coöperate with individuals and Associations among the hitherto enslaved for the selection and purchase of eligible lands for homesteads, to hold titles thereof for a given period, until by installments they shall have been paid for at actual cost to the Government, when the money so employed, not to exceed two millions of dollars, shall be refunded to the national treasury.

During the evening session an address, cordially welcoming the members of the Convention to this city was delivered by Mayor BOWEN, and another by the Hon. A. M. CLAPP, the government printer, who was made an honorary member of the Convention, and was greeted most warmly by the members. He expressed cordial sympathy with the objects of the Convention, and made a very interesting statement of the particulars of the contest, still in progress, to maintain the rights of colored compositors and colored apprentices in the government printing office. It is said that a strong effort is being made to effect Mr. CLAPP's removal from office because of his manly resistance to this yet prevalent and powerful caste spirit. We trust it will be unsuccessful.

The Convention to-day has been chiefly occupied with preliminary matters, the adoption of rules, the appointment of committes, the preparation of reports, and in laying out its work. We must defer, therefore for another letter, a more extended account and review of its doings. There is, as last year, a somewhat discreditable surplusage of words on minor and non-essential points—a waste of hours which might, and ought to be, more profitably employed. But it is to be said also of the colored people that they have been largely deprived hitherto of the experience which others have had in deliberative assemblies, that these Conventions are as the primary school to many of them, and that they compare quite favorably after all with Congress, in joint Convention, to count the electoral votes, for instance, and with other conventions sometimes held by white men and women.

CONGRESS AND THE MESSAGE.

In surrendering so much of THE STANDARD's space to Mr. SUMNER's eloquent and exhaustive lecture, we have little available room for extended comments this week upon the initial proceedings of Congress, and upon the President's Message. The portions of the message which will be most welcome to earnest Radicals are those which advise the more complete "reconstruction" of Georgia; its assertion of equal rights, irrespective of color; its warning against coolie slavery; and its encouraging assurance of the successful working, as far as tried, of the humane and civilizing policy in the conduct of Indian affairs. The message however is an untruthful mirror as a reflection of "peace at home," and in giving the impression that adequate protection has been extended to the freed-people and the Southern loyalists. Why the need of such action as is recommended in the case of Georgia? Additional "reconstruction" is quite as much a necessity in portions of nearly all the Southern States, as in Georgia, because the loyal element therein has been left without proper protection and support. The importance of the Cuban Revolution we believe is underrated, and the attitude assumed by the President needlessly negative. But it is quite refreshing to have a presidential message in which there is so little said about the imperishable sacredness of the "glorious constitution." It concludes with a very important promise which, if properly fulfilled, will do much for the country, viz: that if Congress will do its duty, on the part of the President will be "a rigid adherence to the laws, and their strict enforcement." This is just what we have so much desired all the past summer.

The most important legislation proposed at the opening session of Congress yesterday was with reference to Georgia. If the bill offered by Senator Morton shall become a law, (which is probable) the contumacious Rebel-Democrats of Georgia are likely soon to be brought to terms, the expelled colored members to be restored to their seats in the Legislature, the Fifteenth Amendment to be properly ratified by the State, and other aspects of the situation to be much improved.

We find here an active discussion on the subject of "mixed" and separate schools for colored children. It grows out of the recent attempted expulsion from one of the schools of a daughter of the Rev. J. Sella Martin, a beautiful child of nine years, and so white that her teachers did not for some time discover that she was colored; Congress, it is presumed, will come to the relief of the greatly perplexed school officials by prohibiting any distinction on account of color. The odious slave pens are gone from the District, and there are great changes here for the better, but the living Ghost of the Devil of Slavery still hovers over the capitol, and over the nation.

A. M. P.

## *PENNSYLVANIA MEETINGS.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS will deliver his Lecture on O'Connell in Kennett Square, on Wednesday Evening, the 15th inst. On the afternoon of the same day, a Meeting will be held in the same place by the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society; for discussion of the great topic of the present hour. The presence of WENDELL PHILLIPS, A. M. POWELL, Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT, and other speakers, is expected.

On Saturday Evening, the 18th inst., WENDELL PHILLIPS will lecture in Newtown, Bucks County, and arrangements have been made for a Meeting at Penn's Manor, on Sunday, further notice of which will be given at the Kennett Meeting.

It is not necessary to urge the citizens of Chester and Bucks Counties to avail themselves of the opportunity to listen to the eloquence with which WENDELL PHILLIPS preaches the gospel of the Nineteenth Century.

M. G.

A WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE CONVENTION will be held in the City of Worcester, on Tuesday and Wednesday, Dec. 14th and 15th, to discuss WOMAN'S CLAIM TO THE BALLOT.

Among the speakers definitely engaged are Julia Ward Howe of Boston, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore of Chicago, Andrew Jackson and Mary F. Davis, Rev. R. B. Stratton, Rev. Merrill Richardson, and Rev. T. E. St. John, J. F. Manning, Esq., and S. S. Foster. Others will be announced hereafter. The Meetings will commence on Tuesday the 14th, at 10 o'clock A. M., and continue through the day and evening, at Washburn Hall, (on account of the pre-engagement of Mechanics Hall.) On Wednesday, the 15th, the meetings will be held day and evening in Mechanics Hall.

WE print this week in full Mr. SUMNER's lecture "The Question of Caste." The lecture was delivered on Friday evening of last week in Steinway Hall in this city to a very large, and deeply interested audience. Among Mr. Sumner's most attentive listeners was Père Hyacinthe. Though we are unable to present our usual variety, we are sure that this lecture, so valuable historically, and so important in its bearing upon the yet prevalent and powerful spirit of caste in this country, will be most welcome to our readers, given at full length.

WE are glad to be able to record, as the result of the election in Mississippi, the defeat of Judge Dent, and rejoice that the majority against the unscrupulous adventurer is pronounced and decisive. Mississippi will undoubtedly ratify the Fifteenth Amendment.

THE election in Texas, though the returns are quite incomplete, seems likely to have resulted in the choice of Hamilton for Governor, a result which we deplore.

## Our Boston Correspondence.

NO. CCLIV.

BOSTON, December 5th, 1869.

AMONG the fine lectures delivered here last week, those of Mr. Weiss at Fraternity Hall on Sunday evening, Wendell Phillips in the Fraternity course, and Mrs. Livermore in the Lyceum course, were preëminent. Mr. Weiss discoursed on "A Conscience for Truth," pointing out that, of all our gifts, the conscience is the most sensitive to divine inspiration. He powerfully warned his hearers against that admiration of success, so characteristic of our country, which tolerates unjustifiable instruments and methods, insisted on integrity, and the need of an active and aggressive faith, and pointed out eloquently the natural affinities of truth with the human soul. God, he said, has ever new things for new spirits, and men become most religious by joyfully coöperating with the onward movement to which He invites them.

The title of Mr. Phillips's lecture was, "What we ask of Congress." Declaring that the Administration represented only a section, and a weak, unthinking and unwilling section, of the Republican party, he demanded of Congress that it assume the government which the Executive is leaving unexercised; that it take such action as shall harvest the results of the war, and give the nation all that its outlay of blood and treasure has fairly earned. Pointing out that the elements of the old oligarchical system of the South would not be annihilated until replaced by something better, he urged that we ask of Congress the measures adapted to supersede, crowd out, and replace, the elements which brought on the war. He wanted one nation and one flag for the whole country, and for this two things were necessary. 1. Congress should complete that structure of the government which the fathers left imperfect. We have abolished slavery, one of their omissions; we have defined citizenship, another of their omissions; now we need to *protect* citizenship. A government should not leave its citizens to be murdered for performing, nor to be prevented by threats of violence from performing, an obvious part of their duty as good citizens. Let soldiers be put in every voting district of the South where their presence is necessary to maintain the freedom of the ballot. Let it be required of the President that, whenever a State shall fail to provide this protection, and when forty householders in any district call upon the Union to protect its own ballot-box, he send such military force as may be needful to accomplish this work. The thing needed is a government so broad, so impartial, so founded on an average of national interests, that no local prejudice, or local malignity, or local wealth, can interfere with the right of the citizen to vote.

The second thing we should ask of Congress, Mr. Phillips thought, was to make the common school, in every State, the foundation of the ballot-box. Something so essential to the American system as universal education should neither be left wanting in the South, nor left to depend upon the charity of the North. If Alabama will not provide common schools, let the United States provide them, and send her the bill. The trouble and danger of the South lie in its ignorance; and Congress should provide that no State prejudice or obstinacy shall leave an ignorant mass there to obstruct the progress of the nation.

Mr. Phillips spoke with just severity of that suicidal policy of conciliation, absurdly calling itself magnanimity, often recommended and lately renewed by the *Tribune*—namely, the enactment of complete amnesty to all rebels. He exposed the absurdity of the idea that forgiveness of the persistent wrong-doer is a virtue, and that Christianity requires us to ignore the difference between good and bad, white and black, just and unjust. He had no conciliation to offer to the chiefs of the Confederacy. We must fortify against such miscalled magnanimity, and fortify on the corner-stone of the negro, giving him land and education as well as the ballot. While a second Buchanan sits in the White House and delays, we must rally around that section of the Republican party which represents its *purpose*. The high praise here given by Mr. Phillips to Mr. Sumner called forth vigorous and long continued applause.

Mrs. Livermore's lecture was entitled "A Look Ahead," and in it she took a view of the coming aspects of prohibition, labor reform and woman's rights. In regard to the latter she made an effective argument that the coöperation of women in political action was a necessity of both sexes; that a voice in the government was not only the right of those women who share in the labors and sufferings of our war, but a benefit to the community, the advantages of which should be no longer delayed. The eloquence of Mrs. Livermore is appreciated as fully by the Eastern as the Western people; and the efficiency of her labors in the great reforms now before our community makes the news very welcome of her intended return to Massachusetts for a permanent residance, and of the publication of her paper here instead of in Chicago.

Just now the "Young Men's Christian Association" (so-called) of Boston are asking help of the community for the erection of a large and fine building for the purposes of their Association, and they announce, with the emphasis of italics, that all contributions made to them will be *acknowledged in the daily papers*.

Everybody has seen the two engravings representing the demeanor of the candidate to the elector, one before the election, the other after it. In the first, obsequious friendliness is expressed; in the second, the candidate coolly takes the attitude of superior rank and station, and looks down upon him whom he accosted as an equal when there was something to be gained by it. A great many of those who thoughtlessly give to this Society, taking its goodness and usefulness for granted, will find the altered demeanor of the successful candidate repeated if they shall ever desire to join the Society; will find that they can come in only by first acknowledging themselves *low-caste*, and consenting to take an inferior and subordinate position. In short, they can come in only to be governed, and to receive such benefits as are accorded to the lower class, but are allowed no voice in the administration, and no participation in the choice of officers, still less the right of being candidates for office.

Now that urgent solicitations are made throughout the city and suburbs for subscriptions to this Association, it was highly desirable that some one should call public attention to its essentially aristocratic character, and this disagreeable but needful work has been done by Rev. James Freeman Clarke, in a letter to the *Advertiser*. After pointing out the evidence that the intensely sectarian character of this institution is purposely so arranged by its constitution and laws, and is designed to perpetuate the control of it by *upper-crust* members, Mr. Clarke reminds his readers that there is another society in the city, the "Young Men's Christian Union," which suffers no such *caste*-distinctions, but is governed by the real majority of its members, and shows no sectarian bias in its administration.

The founders and leaders of this Y. M. C. A., whom Mr. Clarke has thus appropriately exposed, are spiritually the descendants of the men who in this State, two centuries ago, enacted that only church-members should vote in town, county and State affairs; they wish apparently, for the return of that state of things; and their rule that none but orthodox church members shall vote in their Association is the thin end of the wedge, which will surely be driven further in proportion as opportunity is allowed them.

No person in their Association can vote in regard either to its administration or its terms of membership, unless he is a member of "an evangelical church," an institution which they thus define:—

"And we hold those churches to be evangelical, which, maintaining the Scriptures to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice, do believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten of the Father, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, in whom dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and who was made sin for us though knowing no sin, bearing our sin in his own body on the tree, as the only name under Heaven given among men whereby we must be saved from everlasting punishment."

Among the clergy of Boston, perhaps the best representative of the narrow and exclusive spirit of the Y. M. C. A. is that persistent defender of slavery, Dr. Blagden. He was selected, the other day, to give the "Charge" to the new pastor of the "Central Church" in Berkeley street; and among his injunctions delivered on that occasion were the following:—The new minister must not preach politics, nor be led away by any philosophy of preaching; he must preach as by inspiration, watchfully guarding against the utterance of any sentence for which he cannot cite authority in the Bible; he must not use the text as a mere motto, but as the spoken word of God; he must exalt the Church as the pillar and ground of the truth—the visible church, as more efficacious for advancing the work of God than any other association; and, enlarging on a saying of Paul in regard to the position of women in the church—he, Dr. Blagden, knew not whether any women in that church desired to speak out in meeting, but it was proper for him to urge the new pastor to follow the teaching of Paul in this respect, at a time when the women are in many places taking a public part in religious meetings.

The *Independent*, which justifiably indulges in some self-glorification on the prosperous condition of its affairs on its twenty-first birth-day, issues an extra sheet of the spread-eagle order, in which is pictorially displayed the downfall of *sectarianism and bigotry* under the assault of the *Independent*. The same paper, however, contains an elaborate puff of the Y. M. C. A., which it seems to assume to be not sectarian, because in it four or five sects unite to propagate the theological dogmas which they hold in common. This distinction however is more seeming than real. The four or five sects form substantially one, gaining the advantage of a division of labor; but the united body shows sectarianism and bigotry in its manner of operation, not less that any of the constituent parts of which it is formed.

NORTH.

## Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, December 5th, 1869.

THE largest audience thus far of the great STAR course of lectures, was that which greeted Charles Sumner on Wednesday evening, at the Academy of Music. *Caste* did not seem like an unpopular theme that night, and one might have believed that a swarthy complexion was not an obnoxious thing, judging by the vast multitude there assembled. Between the orator and his audience there appeared to exist, for the most part, an accordant sentiment, and the prevailing prejudice, for the time being, was in abeyance to the truer and higher spirit there awakened. There was reason to believe, in viewing the spectacle, which now and then became aglow with fervent demonstrations of enthusiasm, that great barriers were fast melting away, and that opinions, notions, feelings and conceits regarding the diversities of skin, were arraying themselves on the side of common sense, and rapidly passing into the realms of reason. The lesson was an impressive one, and its effect must surely be more than ephemeral.

Hitherto each lecturer in the course has appeared before the audience without a formal introduction. You will be pleased to learn that on this occasion Mr. Sumner was introduced by Robert Purvis. And it was done happily and with eloquent vigor. Mr. Purvis said, "I am honored, ladies and gentlemen, in the privilege of presenting the distinguished Senator, Statesman and Philanthropist, who will address you. I shall share in the hearty welcome that awaits him—welcome for his eminent services in the cause of humanity and freedom, which, by the favor of heaven, resulted in breaking the chains of four millions of American slaves;—welcome for his contined labors to make the legal act of emancipation a living and practical truth, by securing under constitutional guaranty equal rights to every American citizen;—welcome to the broader field of an enlightened and purified civilization, to that truly democratic and christian philosophy of a common fatherhood in God, and brotherhood in man. We welcome alike the orator and his theme, for here, on this broad domain, our country, a rich and precious inheritance, we invite the oppressed of all nations, to share under the protecting ægis of the glorious symbol of American freedom, the priceless benefits of American citizenship. I forbear, ladies and gentlemen, another word, in withholding the warm and hearty expression of your feelings in welcoming the Hon. Charles Sumner."

Mr Purvis was heartily applauded, and Mr. Sumner was welcomed with a rapturous and long-continued greeting.

Now that the great Senator has returned to give his voice and power and influence in his accustomed sphere of labor, it is well that his grand oration is to be presented to yet larger audiences, not gathered in brilliant ha' and that the various newspapers that honor themselves its reproduction, will convey the precious eloquence to hundred thousand homes. You will agree with me in the belief that it will not fail to accomplish a needed good work, widespread, and that it commends itself to the favorable consideration of all people, who, as they read and think, will agree with the author in condemning the mean pretension of caste, and be ready to conclude that because man is black he is none the less man, and none the more man because he is white.

Mr. Sumner, when he rose to speak, addressed these preliminary words to him who had introduced him: "Your presence here to-night is a sign of the good victory we have already won, and the herald of other victories yet in store."

CLEAR GRIT.

On Friday evening, in the Star Course, Robert Collyer delivered his lecture with the above title to quite a large audience. It is many years since this gentleman spoke here, and never, I believe, in a regular course of lectures. To most of our citizens he is a new man. His lecture was greatly appreciated by the bulk of his audience, and all found much in it to admire. It could not have failed to act with good, stimulating effect upon the minds of the young women and the young men among his hearers, quickening them with fresh determination, and imbuing them with a resolution to do and to be something nobler and more courageous. For this alone it was worthy of a good word, although one might reasonably take exception to the character of its phraseology, partaking too largely of the street parlance. Sometimes the speaker just approached near enough to the verge of radicalism to give some of us a chance to applaud, and to wish that he would make more frequent and ampler manifestations in the same direction. One thing is clear—a man like Robert Collyer could never be kept in a blacksmith's shop.

THE CLINICS.

The medical student question still claims attention. The wise young "gentlemen" of the Jefferson and University are not yet appeased, and the professors connected with these institutions do not appear to show any other feeling than that of acquiescence in the course of the students. To my mind their position merits condemnation and rebuke. How laudable and praiseworthy it would be on their part, to indicate openly a just appreciation of the noble intentions of the women students, who seek to employ every available means and facility for promoting thoroughness of study, and of acquiring completeness of knowledge in their chosen pursuit. I am not aware that any one of them has manifested by word, act, or token of sympathy, the slightest degree of encouragement in behalf of these women, or that the influence of any one among them has been so exerted as to make their way to the clinics a way of pleasantness and peace.

And what about the Hospital managers? Are they standing steadfast? It is to be feared that they are laboring under infirmity of purpose. Their faces are turned in the direction of compromise. With singular unanimity they present themselves as apologists. Last week they held a meeting, and unanimously adopted a resolution, with a preamble which states that their previous action "authorizing the attendance of female students at the clinics of the hospital has given rise to much dissatisfaction on the part of many physicians and students of this city," and that "it is the desire of the managers of the hospital to avoid giving any just ground for dissatisfaction." The resolution reads as follows, and, is signed by the president and secretary:

*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to confer with the medical and surgical staff of the hospital to provide for separate clinical instruction to the female students of medicine on at least one day in each week, and that upon the completion of such an arrangement the other clinical lectures be confined to classes composed of males only.

It is naturally to be feared by those concerned, that such an arrangement as is here contemplated may operate to the disadvantage of the women students, and result in a more abridged and superficial course of instruction than would be imparted to the larger class. That, at least, is possible, and its probability depends on the temper, inclination or sympathy of the lecturer, not to add his amiability. If separate clinical lectures are actually necessary and wise, the propriety of separation does not stop here. If one such step is indispensable because ethical considerations or the behests of modesty demand it, then, for equally good reasons, there should be an entire change elsewhere. Instead of male and female patients at the hospital, this or any other, with any and all classes of disease, being placed for treatment under the care of men physicians, exclusively, the women patients afflicted with certain kinds of ailment should be placed in charge of women physicians only. Let men physicians take their proper places in these institutions, abandoning certain departments in favor of women physicians which they may claim as their legitimate province. Unwittingly these men may be raising questions hitherto unconsidered, and their discussion may result in a broader toleration of women physicians and a more befitting arrangement in medical practice.

BRISTOL.

The young ladies of the Bristol Boarding School have a Lyceum, and have shown their wisdom and good taste by instituting a course of lectures. The first of the series was delivered by Charles C. Burleigh during his recent visit in this vicinity, and the young lady who is president of the Lyceum very happily introduced the speaker to the audience, who gracefully noticed the pleasant circumstance in fitting words of approbation. It was a meritorious act, and an example worthy of imitation. To-morrow evening Lucy Stone is to lecture for the Lyceum, on the subject of "Woman Suffrage." This theme is not popular among the citizens of that place, but if they would go and hear this earnest and efficient advocate of the important question, their minds would be penetrated with true light upon the subject, and they would become wiser and more liberal in their opinions concerning its merit and significance.

W.

## *THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA PEACE SOCIETY.*

THE third anniversary of the Pennsylvania Peace Society was held the 22d, 23d and 24th of November at Harmonial Hall, Philadelphia.

The meeting was opened by the President, Alfred H. Love, who said:—"We and all the world are tired and sick of the military system. We see in it ruin to our country. In the peace interim we make up for the losses of the war. Some say we cannot live without war. I say can we live with war? I think not. It is ruinous to the State and death to the people. If peace is good it should be perpetuated. If war is bad it should be ended. It is in the interest of this movement that the causes of war should be considered and removed. We say to the military system, abolish it."

The Secretary, Henry T. Child, M. D., then read the report of the Executive Committee for the past year.

It sets forth that the committee has held meetings every month in the year. A series of seven conversational meetings of the society at the hall, northeast corner of Ninth and Spring Garden streets, were addressed by A. H. Love, Dr. Child, Joseph Powell, A. B. Child, F. E. W. Harper, Andrew Jackson Davis, Dean Clark, J. L. Paxon, Sarah T. Betts and others.

In addition to these, five public meetings were held, making twelve in all.

A number of Friends' meeting-houses in the neighborhood of the city have been generously tendered for the society's use. Among those accepted, and in which large and encouraging meetings have been held, were those at Darby, Norristown and Abington.

The report further states that early action was taken in reference to reports that war vessels were being fitted out at our wharves to proceed to sea in the interests of Cuba against Spain. A committee waited upon and consulted the Spanish Consul at this port, the United States Marshal and the Mayor of the city urging the fullest respect of the neutrality laws, and solemnly protesting against war, and appealing to them not to sanction the departure of the Atlanta or any other vessel so suspiciously reported until the destination should be definitely ascertained. This action found its way into foreign papers, and has been productive of good results.

The report speaks of the condition of the Indians and the peace policy of the Chief Executive towards them. The success of the policy is already assured, and the outrages and wrongs so long inflicted upon the aborigines are being done away with. The committee ask the continuance of the peace policy, believing that the result will be most beneficial. The committee have forwarded the contributions of thirty-seven children of the Friends' Central School, of this city, to the Indians.

In consequence of the action of the State in reference to the mili' laws, the receipt by our members of the militia tax , we quoted and caused to be printed, as a protection to those who had conscientious convictions against war or any preparations for it, the following from the Bill of Rights of our Commonwealth, and which we desire to hold high before the people: *No human authority can in any case whatever control or interfere with the rights of conscience.*

The condition of the miners of our State is commented upon; the frequent outbreaks among them, threatening riot and bloodshed, has caused the committee to prepare a letter expressive of the feeling of the society towards them.

The abolition of capital punishment is also referred to. The committee have inagurated a series of meetings to be held in the State during the fall and winter, to be conducted mainly by the Hon. M. H. Bovee, whose services in the West have been so eminently successful. The committee suggest that Mr. Bovee be invited to speak before the Legislature of our State at its coming session.

This report was approved.

The following letter was received by the society from Father Hyacinthe, the celebrated French priest:—

"Mr. Alfred H. Love—Sir:—I am very sensible of the invitation you have done me the honor of addressing to me, but I have to regret that circumstances will not permit me to accept it. America, which knows how to make war gloriously when war is a necessity, has, however, for her constant ideal, Peace in labor, in liberty and in Christianity. May she be faithful to this motto, and the future grandeur of the world will be hers. Please accept, my dear sir, the assurance of respectful and distinguished sentiments with which I have the honor to be your very humble and obedient servant,

FR. HYACINTHE.

"New York, Nov. 13th, 1869."

A letter from Wm. Lloyd Garrison to Mr. Love, thanking him for an invitation to attend the meeting was read. He says that circumstances render it necessary for him to be at home, so that he will be precluded from attending the National Woman's Suffrage Convention, at Cleveland, which also occurs on the 24th inst.

He further says that his views of peace have undergone no change by any events of the last ten years. The late war, he says, was inevitable, because of the dreadful oppression which preceded it, but as neither of them was owing to the adoption of the peace principles, so they both would have been averted if those principles had been reduced to practice *ab initio* by the nation.

Mr. Garrison concludes his letter by quoting a sermon on the war by the late Wm. Ellery Channing.

Letters were also received from a number of other prominent peace men. Among the number was one from Hon. Gerritt Smith, of New York.

Also one from Aaron M. Powell Editor of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, in which he says: The purpose of the cause is a good one and every effort for the elevation of mankind, will contribute to its ultimate success.

The peace movement rightly interpreted means not so much a particular theory of right and wrong in given or supposable cases, as earnest self-sacrificing work for the unfortunate classes of mankind—the promotion of Temperance, the guarantee of equal rights for all men and women, the abolition of the Gallows, the reform of prison discipline and in the treatment of criminals, and a cultivation of a truer respect for human nature.

I am glad you have with you so able a champion of the cause of Anti-Capital Punishment as the Hon. M. H. Bovee.

A letter addressed to the miners of the State was read by Lydia A, Schofield, assistant secretary of the society. The letter sets forth that the society has no desire to interfere with the rights of the miners, or to take either side upon this question, but diligently seek to establish the rights of all. The society intends to honor a brave and consistent protest against wrong, and would have that protest maintained with firmness, but tempered with kind and generous arbitration and mutual good will.

A few remarks were by Lucretia Mott in reference to the miners. She said she felt glad that the committee had produced such an excellent address, and hoped the present meeting would be productive of much good.

An address was then delivered by Hon. Marvin H. Bovee, of Wisconsin. He said:—"No man with his own hard toil ever made one hundred thousand dollars. But a man may accumulate that much by his tact and ability. Capital and labor are divided, and if the former would give to the latter what it earns there would be no difficulty. I am a friend of labor. It is dignified and honorable. Every individual on the face of the earth should work. Some men, however, work ten, twelve or fourteen hours a day, while others may do nothing. The great burden of misery which falls on the laboring classes to-day in every country results from war. Our debt is heavy. It operates severely on the poor. Times are hard now, and I fear they will be harder yet. So long as we sustain war, so long may we expect to have these miseries. In order to settle this war question, I would propose that the right to declare war be taken from Congress and given to the people. The people should certainly vote upon that question and decide it for themselves."

The Committee on Resolutions made their report. It states that the system of military training is in favor of war, and, also, that they are glad to hear of the armies in Europe being reduced; that they believe war to be wrong, and that the people bear the burdens of war, and that if duelling is wrong, duelling on a large scale, termed war, is likewise wrong. It states that the society had unshaken faith in the principles of peace. The resolutions will be made the order of the day at 3 o'clock this afternoon.

On motion, committees on nominations, resolutions and finances, were appointed.

The chair named the following:

On resolutions—Clayton B. Rogers, Lydia A. Schofield, Thomas Garrett.

On nominations—Sarah T. Rogers, Henry M. Laing, Francis Parker, Eleweyn James.

Finances—Sarah T. Rogers, Mary Reads, Sarah Ely.

While the committees were preparing their reports, addresses were made by Lucretia Mott, H. T. Child, M. D., and Sojourner Truth.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

*Resolved*, That human life is absolutely sacred, and cannot be taken by individuals or government.

*Resolved*, That all wars and preparations for war, that capital punishment and all resorts to deadly force, are opposed to the highest teachings of human nature.

*Resolved*, That the present armed condition of the world is not only deplorable, but a violation of common sense, and is a mockery on our boasted civilization.

*Resolved*, That the system of military training, as practiced in our benevolent asylums for orphans and other institutions, is to be deprocated by every lover of peace.

*Resolved*, That the reduction of the armies in Europe, and the success of the London Peace Society in having such an able representative as the Hon. Henry Richards, M. P., are subjects for rejoicing.

*Resolved*, That as the people bear the burdens of war, no war can be carried on without their earnings.

*Resolved*, That if duelling is a wrong, national duelling in the form of a war is likewise a wrong, and that the people have not the right to delegate to Congress the power to declare war.

*Resolved*, That we have unshaken confidence in peace, and a firm belief that it will ultimately triumph over wrong and war.

At the conclusion of the reading of the resolutions, the Committee on Organization presented their report, naming the following as officers of the association for the ensuing year:

*President*—Alfred H. Love, Philadelphia, Pa.

*Vice-Presidents*—Lucretia Mott, Philadelphia, Pa.; Rachel W. M. Townsend, Philadelphia, Pa., and Isaac Mendenhall, Hamorton.

*Secretary*—Henry T. Child, M. D., Philadelphia.

*Assistant-Secretary*—Lydia A. Schofield.

*Treasurer*—T. Elwood Chapman, Philadelphia.

*Executive Committee*—Sarah T. Rogers, Martha Haycock, A. Mary Wise, Clayton B. Rogers, Joseph M. Truman, Jr., Philadelphia; Jacob L. Paxson, Norristown; Dinah Mendenhall, Hamorton; Mary B. Lightfoot, Three Tons; Sarah T. Betts, Abington; Sarah Ely, Philadelphia; Rebecca S. Hart, Germantown; Mary Child, Darby; Francis Parker, Philadelphia; Samuel Townsend, Philadelphia; Mahlon B. Linton, Newtown; Lydia A. Price, West Chester; Lydia H. Hall, West Chester; Rebecca T. Magill, New Hope, and Mary Beans, Martha Heacock and J. E. Longshore, Philadelphia.

FOURTH SESSION, WEDNESDAY, 24TH.

The proceedings were opened by a brief address by the President, Alfred H. Love.

Charles C. Burleigh, so long identified with the cause of freedom, was introduced. He confined his remarks principally to the first resolution read before the association at the meeting on Tuesday afternoon, which denies the right of individuals or governments to take life. Mr. Burleigh said that the teaching of war invariably begins at home, the very place where peace should be promulgated. Appeals to the sword provoke enmities which are difficult to overcome. Instead of rushing to arms to settle difficulties, arbitration should be resorted to, and we should show our enemies that we are practicing humanity and wise patriotism.

The report of the Treasurer was then read. It shows a balance on hand of $29.62.

A number of new names were added to the list of members.

Sojourner Truth, an aged colored woman, formerly a slave, made a few remarks, in which she denounced the taking of life by hanging, assuring her hearers that it had a tendency of increasing murders. While a slave she never favored resorting to arms to abolish it, but did all that her ability permitted to do away with the curse by moral suasion and argument.

Alfred H. Love said that he had always felt a deep interest in the matter of reform, and believed that a more progressive spirit prevailed among the masses than heretofore. Such teachings, he said, as that which has so long been preached, "I live for my country and will die for it," should be laid aside. The idea of any one dying for his country, in the strictest sense, he pronounced a fallacy. If people, he said, who go to fight and die for their country really meant it, they would not endeavor to protect and shield themselves behind trees, walls, forts or the bulwarks of vessels, but would bare their breasts and die at once for their country's sake. "In time of peace prepare for war." This, said the speaker, is another wrong teaching. Why, said he, should we prepare for war? Why should we endeavor to perpetuate it? Why not in time of peace prepare for a lasting peace—a lasting tranquility and happiness?

He denounced the military training of children in the orphan schools of our own Commonwealth and the public schools of New England. The children of the former were made orphans by the war, by the military teaching of the nation, and why should the same spirit be inculcated into them as they are growing into manhood? Even in the House of Refuge the system of military training is talked of, and efforts are being made to introduce it. He considered it a dreadful undertaking and a wrong to teach a class of children, over whom their parents had lost all control, the art of using arms and impressing upon their minds the necessity of war.

"My country, right or wrong"—another motto he considered a wrong. The idea of country being supreme to right, superior to courage to do right, more than the equal of principle, was a great mistake. He favored right, even if the country and its institutions have to give way. The country, he said, can be made right by our doing right, and this should be our study and practice.

He spoke about the militia tax, pronouncing it oppressive and unjust. The Bill of Rights, which gives every citizen conscientiously opposed to war and taxation for the support of the military the right to decline paying what the Government may demand, he said, still remains upon our statute books, and is therefore a law, and a righteous shield to every conscientious man.

In referring to our complications with Spain he could, he said, see nothing denoting a war. If the difficulty should assume a more startling attitude, it was a matter then for arbitration, and can be settled in a little while without bloodshed or the waste of money.

In concluding his remarks he offered the following:

*Resolved*, That the recent action of the Government and the general sympathy of the people in behalf of the Indians and the Freedmen, are gratifying signs of the spirit of love, justice and equal rights which make peace possible and deserved, and, with this policy continued, the Indian troubles will cease and the Freedmen cease to be dependent.

*Resolved*, That the present Spanish complication proves the necessity of a new International Law, beginning with "Do unto others as you would be done by." And to settle the vexed question of Foreign powers fitting out war vessels we should abolish the building of war vessels for ourselves, and thus with justice and propriety refuse to permit other nations to do the wrong which we ourselves refuse to do,

They were adopted.

Hon. M. H. Bovee, Thomas Elwood Longshore and Jacob L. Paxson made brief addresses, urging the continuation of the present peace movement.

A letter was read from J. K. H. Wilcox, dated at Paris, giving an account of his interview with Gen. Prim, the Spanish Minister of War, and Gen. Vizcando, leader of the Spanish abolitionists and protestants. The latter assured him that he was an advocate of peace, and that he was about to issue a paper advocating the cause and establishing a branch of the Universal Peace Union.

Francis Vincent, of Wilmington, Del., read a series of resolutions proposing an international code of laws for the United States and England.

Mr. Love here stated that Senator Sumner had written him that he was about preparing such a code, and that David Dudley Field had already perfected a plan and had forwarded the proof sheets.

The venerable Lucretia Mott made the concluding address. She said that the Peace movement should be kept on as simple a basis as possible, for the better it would be understood and upheld.

England, she said, could not be induced to adopt Republican principles, and the United States were in no notion of giving them up, hence the adoption of an international code was not to be hoped for yet awhile. She thought it better to leave all plans open for reflection and conviction, as their goodness would be wrought in time. If the people can be convinced of the evil of war, and be induced to adopt means for the removal of causes leading thereto then peace will be assured.

She saw much to encourage the friends of peace. The United States, she said, is advancing in civilization and enlightenment, and as they press on, the moral sentiments come more actively into play.

One thing alone was gratifying to her—the doing away of corporeal punishment at home and in the public schools. It was a specie of barbarism that our intellects had outgrown.

In concluding, she said, if nations disagree, they fight, and generally after blood-letting and great financial loss, cease hostilitities, and settle their difficulties through a peace congress or a specie of arbitration which they should have resorted to before going into battle.

### Woman's Rights.

WHILE the men have their Reapers, Mowers, Horse-Rakes, Thrashing-Machines, etc., every woman has a just claim to be provided with such labor-saving implements of household use as the UNIVERSAL CLOTHES WRINGER AND DOTY WASHING-MACHINE.

# Miscellaneous Department.

## AUTUMN FESTIVAL.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

The Persian's flowery gifts, the shrine
Of fruitful Ceres, charm no more;
The woven wreaths of oak and pine
Are dust along the Isthmian shore.

But beauty hath its homage still,
And nature holds us still in debt;
And woman's grace and household skill,
And manhood's toil, are honored yet.

And we, to-day, amidst our flowers
And fruits, have come to own again
The blessings of the summer hours,
The early and the latter rain;

To see our Father's hand once more
Reverse for us the plenteous horn
Of autumn, filled and running o'er
With fruit, and flower, and golden corn!

Once more the liberal year laughs out
O'er richer stores than gems or gold;
Once more with harvest-song and shout
Is Nature's bloodless triumph told.

Our common mother rests and sings,
Like Ruth among her garnered sheaves;
Her lap is full of goodly things,
Her brow is bright with autumn leaves.

O favors every year made new!
O gifts with rain and sunshine sent!
The bounty overruns our due,
The fullness shames our discontent.

We shut our eyes, the flowers bloom on;
We murmur, but the corn-ears fill;
We choose the shadow, but the sun
That casts it shines behind us still.

God gives us with our rugged soil
The power to make it Eden-fair,
And richer fruits to crown our toil
Than summer-wedded islands bear.

Who murmurs at his lot to-day?
Who scorns his native fruit and bloom?
Or sighs for dainties far away,
Beside the bounteous board of home?

Thank Heaven, instead, that Freedom's arm
Can change a rocky soil to gold,—
That brave and generous hearts can warm
A clime with northern ices cold.

And let these altars, wreathed with flowers
And piled with fruits, awake again
Thanksgiving for the golden hours,
The early and the latter rain!

## EN ROUTE FOR SUEZ.

BY GEORGE W. SMALLEY.

Steamer Guienne, At Sea, Nov. 10.—We touch to-morrow at Messina, and I may send you from Messina, as well as from anywhere, the few words I have to say about our trip thus far. Messina is not Suez, but it is a good deal nearer Suez than New York. And of course you understand that a great part of the Suez inauguration ceremonies has been transacted in quite other places than Egypt. Those of the Viceroy's guests who had leisure quitted London and Paris a month ago. Not a few eminent men accepted his invitation to go up the Nile before the inauguration, and the French papers were beginning to print letters from this party a week or two ago. As for the English journalists, many of them went by way of Constantinople, timing their journey to meet Mme. Eugenie Bonaparte on her visit to the Sultan. When or how the Americans went, I don't know. There are, I think, but three on board this vessel.

The range of invitations sent by the Viceroy was very wide, beginning with sovereigns and merely show people of that kind, and thence ascending to include the useful classes; representatives of commerce, engineers, eminent politicians and men of letters, journalists and savans. The whole list was shown me in Paris, and it was stupid in me not to have copied down such names as I wanted to use, most of which I have now forgotten. Most of them, or at least most of the English, seem to have declined, with the exception of those who have a special interest in the canal. Numerous chambers of commerce send delegates; transportation and telegraph companies are represented; incredulous English engineers go to see with their own eyes what otherwise they will not believe; and the journalists go, of course. Credulous or incredulous, they have no other duty than to report what they see. Why did you not send Mr. Richardson to say whether the Suez canal or the Pacific Railway is the greater wonder and the more important to the world? The two great enterprises are rivals in more senses than one.

On board the Guienne there are journalists in great number, mostly Continental; two or three English, and the three Americans whom I have mentioned. We left Marseilles at half-past eight on the morning of Tuesday, Nov. 9th; are due in Alexandria on the evening of Sunday. I suppose it is proper to say explicitly that we are guests of the Viceroy. The sort of restriction imposed on a correspondent by that relation will be understood without being expressed. It may or may not prove irksome, but it exists, and as it is one I shall bear constantly in mind, I have to ask that readers of these letters will sometimes remember it. When I sent a correspondent to Russia, in 1866, he wrote me from St. Petersburg that it was a good country for (foreign) journalists. He was lodged in a palace, and a retinue of servants at his orders. The Viceroy's hospitality is even more magnificent. It meets us, not at Cairo or Alexandria, not on the threshold of his palace, but at Paris. His guests are his guests from the moment they step inside the railway station—Gare de Lyon—in the Boulevard Mazas. The agent of the Khedive, who is charged to invite you, hands you with the invitation a railway ticket for Paris and Marseilles—750 miles—and a steamship ticket from Marseilles to Alexandria, 1,500 miles further. He is at the pains to explain to you that the orders of his master do not permit him to enjoy the pleasure of providing for you beyond that point, but that at Alexandria you will find officers of his Highness in waiting to welcome you, to indicate where his Highness will receive you, and to charge themselves with all arrangements for your residence, and for travel while you remain in Egypt. While abstaining from particulars, he gives you to understand that every opportunity will be offered you to inspect the works of the great canal, and to witness all the ceremonies of inauguration. The inauguration complete, you will be still the guest of the Khedive, so long as you like to remain; and when you are ready to return, the choice of routes is open to you. In a word, you may go where you will and when you will, only you must allow the Viceroy to be your host till you are safely back in Paris. The Sultan may deny the prerogatives of Royalty to the ruler of Egypt, but he has not been able to deny him the pleasure of dispensing hospitality with more than royal splendor.

It is all done so gracefully that it would be churlish to show, whatever we may feel, any reluctance in accepting it. If there was ever a time when the press could surrender its inestimable right to absolute independence of judgment, it must be in such circumstances as these.

Impossible not to remark how completely the Viceroy has divested himself of the Oriental contempt for public opinion; and especially for European opinion. Of course, he believes in the complete success of the canal as a piece of engineering. Of course, he believes that financial success must follow, sooner or later, the engineering success. But in these days the talisman of success is no longer the issuing of a decree—Let the world hear and obey. It is the journal—and the Viceroy's invitations include, I believe, every great journal in Europe and America—not to mention some which are great only by his courtesy. Three hundred invitations to the press. Two-thirds to the continent of Europe; the other third to England and America in about equal proportions. There never yet was any piece of work done in broader daylight than the inauguration will be. In a month the world will know all that remains to be known about the Suez Canal.

It is curious how a doubt has seemed to linger to the last moment about the perfect success of the canal. Not in the French papers, for it is a French work, and the French would believe in a railway to the moon, engineered by themselves. Inasmuch as we are completely free—we and the English—from any tendency to bragging about our own doings, we have the right, of course, to criticise a nation that does. But the English telegrams have told queer stories within the last month. They insisted that a corvette started to go through the canal stern-foremost, for fear of not being able to get back in case of obstruction; that she stuck fast in a mud-bank and was extricated with difficulty. It was a pure invention, but found plenty of believers. Still later, the Emperor's yacht got stranded—also by telegraph, and by the same versatile instrument was next day got afloat again. I don't know what other appalling catastrophe may have happened since we got out of telegraphic range.

The 300 journalists are but a small part of the Viceroy's guests. At the first dinner to be given in Ismailia on the night of the 17th, 2,000 are expected to sit down. They have been flocking to Egypt by every route for a month past and more. On board the Guienne we have about 150. On the Peluse that left Marseilles Monday evening, there were perhaps as many more. The idea, more or less Oriental, that a guest is master while he is guest, was prettily illustrated at the departure of the Peluse. One passenger, believed to be the last, was protracting his good-by on the pier 15 minutes after the ship was ready to start and only at the last moment could the captiain make up his mind to summon him on board. Within a minute after he had gone up the gangway the Peluse was off. Within another minute, another passenger came rushing down to the wharf—too late. The ship was a cable length away. A minute more and he had found a boat, and started on what seemed a hopeless pursuit. But when the gallant captain saw the pursuing boat, and handkerchiefs waving from the pier, he did what few steamship captains ever did, stopped his ship and waited. We had the satisfaction to see with our glasses the happy man go up the side.

When the Guienne sailed next morning, there was a solicitude about passengers I never saw before. An English ship starts at the hour, and I don't suppose it ever occured to an English captain to trouble his head about his passengers. If they are on board well and good. If not, it is their affair. Take your ticket by a ship of the Messageries Imperiales and you see first of all that you are asked to hand it to the proper officer when you go on board. Arrived, you find the officer at the gangway to receive you. Lest among the crowd of friends who are freely admitted, some passenger may omit to deliver his ticket, another officer from time to time promenades the cabins and saloons, calling for all tickets not surrendered. The purser sits in the main saloon, a list of the passengers before him, and checks the arrivals. We are to start at 8. Half a dozen passengers are still missing. The ship is searched for them, waits for them when they cannot be found, and in fact the last comes half an hour late to find the ship still waiting, and to be received with as much courtesy as if he had been the promptest of men.

It happens that the Guienne is the first French ship on which I have made a voyage, and it is natural to make comparisons. I have sailed on English, American, German, Dutch, and even Spanish steamers, and this French ship is most comfortable of all. Everybody knows that the English are well built and sailed, but they seem to me very far from being comfortable. They are seldom organized with much attention to the comfort of passengers, and comfort is a thing more agreable to have on board ship, if you can get it, than anywhere else in the world. The English captain thinks his business is done when he brings his ship safe into port. It is nothing to him that his passengers have been miserable all the way when they might just as well have been contented and happy. I have met many men who have travelled by the ships of the Peninsular and Oriental Company—a line far better known to Englishmen than the Cunard, which Americans know so well, and so much to their cost. I never heard one passenger speak well of the ship which had carried him safely through. There was general complaint, as on the Cunarders, of bad arrangement, insufficient service, bad cooking, and neglect of the little things which make or mar the voyage for you.

It is very different here. The commandant is not too great a man to busy himself with the needs of his passengers. There are plenty of well-trained servants, there is fresh water and clean linen to be had in the staterooms, there are—disbelieve it as you will if you know the Cunarders—napkins at table, and there is an entire absence of the general gruffness which so pervades the English ships, as to impress on a passenger that he is an intruder who may think himself lucky to be allowed on board at all. The food and cooking are very much what they are at a first-class Paris hotel—by which I do not mean the Grand Hotel, probably the worst in Paris, and certainly the most frequented by Americans. There is coffee at any hour you like in the morning, a table d'hôte breakfast at nine, lunch when you like and on what you like, dinner at five, served in a decent, Christian way, not piled in huge masses on the table. The wines are good, various, and served without extra charge. Coffee and liqueurs the same, tea afterward, and after that you may have punch if you are still capable of anything more. No one man, I presume, goes through the whole of this list, but he may choose. The evenings bring another contrast, for instead of the scattering candles that served to make darkness visible on the Persia and China, in both of which ships I have for my sins been condemned to cross the Atlantic, there are French carcel lamps, brilliant, soft, and steady.

And we have, to crown all our comforts, had clear warm days and smooth seas. This morning we passed through the narrow and intricate strait that divides Corsica and Sardinia. I do not know whether the scenery is celebrated, but it is superb. Most English travelers miss it, the Peninsular and Oriental ships taking the route south of Sardinia. Land on three sides of us when we went on deck this morning, land straight ahead, with no visible opening. When the cliffs parted to let us through, they closed at once astern of the ship, and for a quarter of an hour we were as completely landlocked as if on a Swiss lake, to which the landscape was not unlike. Once through the strait, Caprera lay on our left, and the white walls of Garibaldi's home glittered in the morning sun. His little island lies near enough to Corsica to redeem it from the reproach of having brought forth Napoleons. Steep slopes of granite lift the great Italian's home far above the sea, granite lies all about it, scanty tufts of low brush the only green things one could see. Clearly, Garibaldi will not grow rich by farming Caprera. The glimpse we had of his lonely home was all too brief; rude cliffs rushed in between, and closed in the view. We paid the hero what little tribute we could. Many a hat was lifted, and salute silently given. As we have all sorts of people, some turned away in dislike as was natural, and in that way equally paid *their* tribute to the brave Republican whom Imperialists have good reason to detest and dread.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

Moffino.—Everybody at Milan knows the history, for it is not simply a story, of the spaniel Moffino. The dog followed his master, who belonged to the corps of Prince Eugene Beauharnais, on the occasion of the disastrous expedition into Russia in 1812. At the passage of the Beresina, these two faithful companions were separated by the masses of ice which floated down the river, and the Milanese corporal returned to his native city full of sorrow and regret, not on account of his wounds, but for the loss of his poor dog which had shared with him so much misery and suffering. A year passed by, and the soldier, in the midst of his family, had almost forgotten the object of his regret. One day, however, the people of the house were surprised by the arrival of the spectre of an animal that might formerly have been a dog, but which now scarcely deserved the name. It was something truly hideous that they tried to drive away without pity, notwithstanding the mournful cries of the poor beast. At this moment the ex-corporal returned from a walk, and saw advancing towards him, with joyful bounds, this wretched quadruped, which licked his feet, uttering at the same time low whinings. He repulsed it roughly, and was about to deprive this singular visitor of the little life that appeared to be remaining, when a sudden thought occurring to him, he examined certain marks on it with attention, indications of which caused him much joy. He pronounced the name "Moffino," and the animal jumped up immediately, barked joyfully, and then fell down, exhausted with hunger, fatigue—perhaps, one might say, with emotion.

His master, who now recognized his lost dog, hastened to his assistance, succored him tenderly and saved him from death.

The journey over more than the half of Europe, undertaken by an animal without any guide but his wonderful instincts; the mountains and rivers crossed by this feeble creature, in search of his master, at the price of terrible sufferings, is a great lesson for the generality of mankind.—*Illustrated Library of Wonders.*

## THE BUILDERS.

All are architects of Fate,
Working in these walls of Time;
Some with massive deeds and great,
Some with ornaments of rhyme.

Nothing useless is, or low;
Each thing in its place is best;
And what seems but idle show
Strengthens and supports the rest;

For the structure that we raise,
Time is with materials filled;
Our to-days and yesterdays
Are the blocks with which we build.

Truly shape and fashion these;
Leave no yawning gaps between;
Think not, because no man sees,
Such things will remain unseen.

In the elder days of Art,
Builders wrought with greatest care
Each minute and unseen part;
For the Gods see everywhere.

Let us do our work as well,
Both the unseen and the seen;
Make the house, where Gods may dwell,
Beautiful, entire and clean.

Else our lives are incomplete,
Standing in these walls of Time,
Broken stairways, where the feet
Stumble as they seek to climb.

Build to-day, then, strong and sure,
With a firm and ample base;
And ascending and secure
Shall to-morrow find its place.

Thus alone can we attain
To those turrets, where the eye
Sees the world as one vast plain,
And one boundless reach of sky.

—*Longfellow.*

## STORIES ABOUT HORSES.

The following stories about horses are from a book for boys and girls, called The Intelligence of Animals, one of the Illustrated Library of Wonders, which the Messrs. Charles Scribner & Co., of New York, are issuing for the holidays:

Horses will not only bemoan lost companions, but sympathise with, and endeavor to aid their living associates.

The mere statement of this will seem absurd to some, and they will laughingly ask whether we believe in the fourth voyage of Capt. Lemuel Gulliver? Our belief is founded on evidence; and such a basis of opinion is, we humbly presume, sought even by those who seem ever eager to reject all proofs of animal-intelligence. Mr. Watson, in his work on "The Reasoning Power of Animals," mentions the following: "A gentleman was one evening in the full enjoyment of a pleasant dinner party, in his own house. It so happened that a glass door opened from the dining-room upon the lawn. Pushing open this door, a most extraordinary and unbidden visitor entered the room. Starting up the amazed company beheld a quadruped which had never entered that room before. The gentleman advanced, and recognized one of his favorite mares, which, undaunted by the blazing light and the crowding round her of the astonished guests, showed by voice and manner some strange emotion. Her master went up to the animal, which trotted off, uttering a peculiar cry. It was determined to ascertain the cause of the mare's strange conduct. She was followed to a field, and the motive for her unwonted behavior was quickly ascertained. Her foal had got entangled in bog and briars, and the alarmed mother had adopted this effective mode of obtaining aid."

Some of the ingenious feats of the more clever horses have a close resemblance to human actions. Take the following, narrated in Mr. Smiles' "Life of Rennie the Engineer:" A horse, called Jack, was one among many employed at the erection of Waterloo Bridge. The horse was accustomed to draw the stone trucks along a tramway to the places where the stone was required. A beer shop was, of course, opened near the works for the special use of the "navvies," and other workmen. The driver of Jack's truck was an honest sort of fellow, named Tom, who had one special weakness—an inability to pass the beer shop without taking "a little." Jack was so accustomed to this, that, though a restive animal, he waited contently till Tom came out of his own accord, or till the appearance of an overlooker startled the man into activity.

On one occasion, however, when the superintendents were absent, Tom took so long a spell at the ale that Jack became restive and, the trace-fastenings being long enough, the animal put his head inside the beer-house door, and seizing the astonished Tom by the collar with his teeth, dragged the lazy man out to the truck. Every man there understood the action of the horse, and great became the fame of Jack amongst the host of workers.

Mr. Lee mentions a horse which, having to cross an opening on some planks, and these having become slippery by frost, scattered with its feet some loose sand lying near, over the ice-covered timbers, and thus secured a rough surface and a firm footing. This is precisely what a man would have done under the circumstances.

Mr. Jackson, in his work, "Our Dumb Companions," gives the following instance, illustrating the sagacity of a horse: "The animal had been carelessly shod, and probably suffered pain in consequence. The creature seems to have been quite aware of the proper remedy, for a few days after the shoeing operation the farrier was amazed to see the horse approach the door of the workshop, and hold up the hoof. An inspection soon showed the nature of the fault, which, being rectified, the animal went away satisfied."

The clever manner in which this horse escaped from its meadow must not be passed over. Having no means of unlocking the gate, he had actually lifted one end of the hinges with his teeth, and was thus able to get through.

## THE CHARM OF LABOR.

I would not choose to have the stream of life
From first to last all calm and rippleless,
For broken waters sing a lovely song,
And valor grows on obstacles o'erthrown.
There's strength in struggle, and we need be strong,
With all the work there is for man to do
Between his birth and death, God helping him,
While none but earnest workers know true rest
Or guess the meaning of a holiday.
The wretched idler, half asleep by day
And half awake by night, scarce lives at all;
His faculties are dazed, and every sense
Is dull and weak; and time drags heavily
That should go ever tilting lightly on,
Unheard, unheeded, until passed away;
While he who meets his work with cheerfulness
And does full duty with ungrudging heart,
Taking it up as heritage from God,
Appointed and apportioned by His hand,
Though weary often when the day is done,
Yet has so still a conscience in his breast,
And so enjoys the mystery of sleep,
That he has recompense in that alone,
Though not alone in that; for labor bears
Within itself a great reward, a charm,
Which only those (such is the law) can know
Who sweat in heart and muscle for God's sake.

Wearing Mourning.—We long for the day when this custom shall be obsolete.

It is unbecoming the truly afflicted one. The wearer says, by the black garments, "I have lost a near friend. I am in deep sorrow." But true grief does not wish to parade itself before the eye of the stranger; much less does it assert its extent. The stricken one naturally goes apart from the world to pour out the tears. Real affliction seeks privacy. It is no respect to the departed friend to say we are in sorrow. If we have real grief it will be discovered.

When God has entered the household in the awful chastisement of death, it is time for religious meditation and communion with God on the part of the survivors. How sadly out of place, then, are the milliner and the dress-maker, the trying on of dresses, and the trimming of bonnets. There is something profane in exciting the vanity of a young girl by fitting a waist, or trying on a hat, when the corpse of a father is lying in an adjoining room. It is a sacrilege to drag the widow forth from her grief, to be fitted for a gown, or to select a veil.

It is often terribly oppressive to the poor. The widow left desolate with a half-dozen little children, the family means already reduced by the long sickness of the father, must draw on her scanty purse to buy a new wardrobe throughout for herself and children, throwing away the good stock of garments already prepared, when she knows not where she is to get bread for those little ones. Truly may fashion be called a tyrant, when it robs the widow of her last dollar.

Surely your sorrow will not be questioned, even if you should not call in the milliner to help you display it. Do not in your affliction help uphold a custom which will turn the afflictions of your poorer neighbor to deeper poverty, as well as sorrow.—*The Central Baptist.*

Wheat Bran.—"If chemistry had rendered no higher service to common life," says the *Hearth and Home*, "than to analyze our daily bread, it would have placed society under a perpetual obligation. It is now generally understood that in bolting ground wheat, the seive takes out the best and most nutritious parts of the grain. A process has of late been patented in England for grinding the bran into fine powder and mixing it with the flour. A German chemist has discovered a method by which bran may be bleached entirely white, so as to be cooked with the flour, thus adding to its nutritive power without affecting its color."

## LEARN WISDOM FROM THE WORLD.

My son, be wise and make the world thy school.
For knowledge of all kinds 'tis over-rich;
As thou considerest it, it teaches thee
Each thing in turn and so thou learnest it.
Wilt thou now learn compassion, for the present
Avoid the beggars, and the poor and sick,
Farewell to hovels where the afflicted weep,
Stay not to list the wailings of the oppressed,
Constrain thyself, see no unrighteousness,
Do her misdeeds, be silent 'mong the sad;
Think now; thou livest in a perfect world!
The human form is finished, like the earth!
Upon the fairest faces feast thine eyes,
Linger in golden chambers, look thy fill
At the gay pomp of great ones, eat and drink
To fulness of their viands and their wines,—
Then, go learn Freedom! both in act and thought,
Live, where one honors all alike as men;
Visit fair countries, cities richly built,
And if thou wilt, look upon ruins, too,
And on old graves, till it comes home to thee:
How soon the fairest human life is gone!
Hail the bright Sun; and think of Him who said:
That *as the heavenly kingdom was in Heaven*,
So should it be on earth,—and brought it down!
With such an eye, with such a heart behold
Humanity, its ignominious flight,—
And if thou hast not for a heart—a stone,
Then hast thou pity, know'st what pity means!

—*Leopold Schefer—The Layman's Breviary.*

The Wonders.—This world of ours is filled with wonders. The microscope reveals not less than the telescope, each at either extreme end of creation. In the insect creation, particularly, there is so much to know that has never been dreamt of—wheels within wheels, without computation or number. Let us take a rapid glance at the proofs of this statement. The polypus, it is said, like the fabled hydra, receives new life from the knife which is lifted to destroy it. The fly spider lays an egg as large as itself. There are 4,041 muscles in a caterpillar. Hooke discovered 14,000 mirrors in the eye of a drone; and to effect the respiration of a carp, 13,000 arteries,, vessels, veins, bones, etc., are necessary. The body of every spider contains four little masses pierced with a multitude of imperceptible holes, each hole permitting the passage of a single thread; all the threads, to the amount of 1,000 to each mass, join together when they come out, and make the single thread with which the spider spins its web; so that what we call a spider's thread consists of more than 4,000 united. Lenwhenock, by means of microscopes, observed spiders no bigger than the grain of sand, and which spun threads so fine that it took 4,000 of them to equal in magnitude a single hair.


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